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NEW TIMES

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A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

THE IMPERATIVE OF THE NUCLEAR AGE: NEW THINKING

SINISTER SHADOW OF ITALIAN NEOFASCISM

THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

A NEW EDITION

1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

The series of drawings "Disasters of War" is among the finest works of the great Spanish painter Francisco Goya (1746-1828). We reproduce one of them, entitled "Still Not Enough."

The 16th- and 17th-century Utopians' failure to bring peace and prosperity to the world did not halt the evolution of social thought, which reflected reasonable people's natural revulsion against war and bloodshed. The advent of the 18th century saw the birth of new projects for the establishment of "universal brotherhood."

The fall of an apple led Newton to the discovery of the law of gravity; similarly, we are told, the breakdown of a carriage suggested to the French philosopher Abbé de Saint-Pierre the idea that wars brought nothing but harm: the roads, he reasoned, were not repaired because all the money went into maintaining the army. The story may be apocryphal, but the fact remains that de Saint-Pierre set down his first plan for universal peace in his "Note on the Improvement of Roads." This and other of de Saint-Pierre's projects shared the unhappy fate of those of his precursors: the philosopher had too much faith in the "good will" of the feudal sovereigns whose interests war served. Nevertheless, his idea of "an alliance between states" appealed to many of his contemporaries. While accepting it, however, the thinkers of the Enlightenment envisaged a quite different path to this alliance.

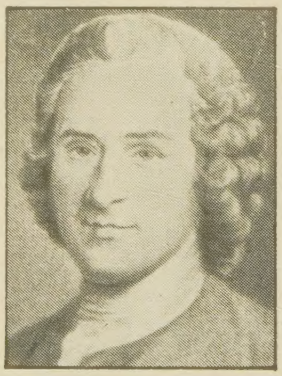
Even Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for all his fear of social upheavals, was convinced that a peaceful alliance between states could only be brought about through revolution. The philosopher Immanuel Kant based his projects for peace on the thesis that social progress was objectively inevitable. The outstanding Russian social philosopher Vasily Malinovsky elaborated a programme for the establishment of peaceful interstate relations which he intended to bring prosperity to the nations of Europe.

But harsh reality prevented those noble ideas from being realized. "The state based upon reason completely collapsed," Engels wrote. "The promised eternal peace was turned into an endless war of conquest."

Charles Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre (1658-1743)

The states party to the Agreement will enter into an eternal and indissoluble alliance and appoint their plenipotentiaries who will form, in the appropriate place, a permanent council or congress to settle, through arbitration or court procedure, all differences between the contracting parties.

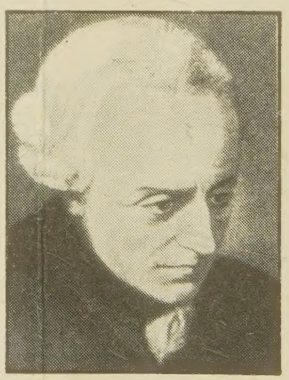
"Project for Perpetual Peace in Europe" (1713-17)



Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Let no one say, however, that the failure to carry out Abbé de Saint-Pierre's system means it was not a good one. On the contrary, it was too good to be accepted because the evil and abuses so many people benefit from infiltrate life of their own accord.... Obviously, federative leagues can be formed only by revolutionary means.

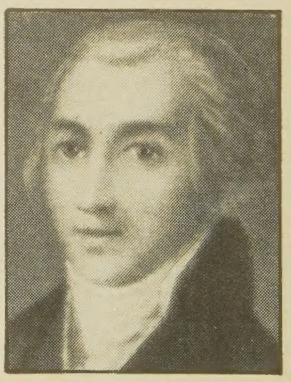
"Opinion on Perpetual Peace" (1761)



Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)

International law must be based on the federalism of free states.... There must exist an **alliance** of a special kind which one may call a **peace alliance** and which would differ from a **peace agreement** in that the latter is meant to put an end to just one war, while the former puts an end to all wars for all time.

"Eternal Peace" (1795)



Vasily Malinovsky (1765-1814)

This council ["of allied nations"—**Ed.**] is to preserve general security and property, to prevent any breach of peace in advance, to settle international disputes following an established procedure, and its resolutions must be unanimously implemented by all the allied nations.

"A Discourse on Peace and War" (1803)

For earlier installments of our brief review of the history of anti-war ideas, see our issues Nos. 1, 4 and 6.

ARROGANT SIGNAL

Born of World War II as an instrument of peace, cooperation and progress, the United Nations Organization has existed for more than 40 years. And until now at no time in all these years has there been an instance of the host country insisting on limits being placed on or cuts made in the personnel of the accredited U.N. missions of the member countries. Now an attempt is being made to create such a precedent.

The missions of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Byelorussia have been made the target of this exercise in lawlessness. The U.S. authorities are demanding that their diplomatic personnel be cut within two years by nearly half. The move is patently illegal, and Washington knows it. It is perfectly aware that the presence of the U.N. in New York as well as its rights and privileges are not a favour granted by the American Administration, but are based on the relevant agreement between the United States and the United Nations. The U.S. is clearly obligated to provide the conditions needed for the normal functioning of the U.N., for the unimpeded participation in its work of all the members of the world organization.

Now this obligation is being flouted on the absurd excuse that the U.S. gumshoe services are unable to keep the staff members of the Soviet U.N. missions under surveillance, which allegedly presents a threat to the national security of the United States.

Every country is of course entitled to attend to its security. But where does the United Nations come in? The U.S.S.R. is one of the founding members of the U.N. and its contribution to the world organization is generally recognized. The accusation that its representatives engage in activity that has nothing to do with the U.N. is clearly a provocative move. But the U.S. insists on having its way: Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger has said in so many words that it will not change its decision even if it is shown to be legally invalid.

There is no need to conjecture as to whom this arrogant signal has been addressed. The British Guardian believes it is intended simultaneously for both Moscow and the United Nations. As regards the U.N., its peace activity reflecting the growing striving of the peoples to put an end to the policy of confrontation and the arms race, and in general to democratize interstate relations, is not to Washington's taste. Such aspirations are in no way consonant with the present neoglobalist course steered by the U.S. It is not by chance that Vice-President George Bush, speaking recently on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Churchill's Fulton speech, said that the United Nations Organization "has proven by and large a great disappointment." One can understand his complaint. The U.S. more and more frequently finds itself in political isolation in the United Nations. The overwhelming majority of U.N. members have resolutely condemned such U.S. aggressive actions as the seizure of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, and the American vetoes on Security Council resolutions condemning the Israeli aggressors and the South African racists.

In reply, Washington is toughening its anti-U.N. policy. It has walked out of UNESCO, threatens to cut its contribution to the budgets of international organizations, and encourages the ultra-Right clamour for the expulsion of the U.N. from the United States. The American authorities arrogate to themselves the right arbitrarily to decide whom to allow to take part in undertakings sponsored by the world community and whom to exclude from them.

The list of incessant American provocations aimed at undermining the prestige of the United Nations and turning it into a debilitated weakling is long. The latest move is one of them. But it is also more than that. The timing of this move is noteworthy: it was undertaken on the eve of a possible new Soviet-American summit meeting. What is it that Washington is signalling to Moscow? Not only is this unlawful action clearly contrary to the spirit of the dialogue that was started in Geneva. One gets the impression that the object is to prevent the continuation of that dialogue, to provoke our country to take countermeasures. Time and again efforts have been made to impel the Soviet Union to slam the door shut. But in vain. The consistency and dedication to peace of our foreign policy was once again confirmed the other day by Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to the leaders of six nations and his letter to the leader of the international Life Institute, Maurice Marois. The Soviet Union counters relapses into imperial arrogance by vigorous efforts for the triumph of peace and understanding among the peoples. As regards Washington's sallies against the U.N., they merely underline the legitimacy of questioning the fitness of a country that does not live up to its obligations to host the world organization's headquarters.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ I read with great interest O. Morgachov's article "The Technological Blockade" (No. 49, 1985). In my opinion the West European countries yield far too easily to U.S. pressure in the matter of trade with Eastern Europe. Export of goods to the socialist countries helps the West to ease the consequences of the grave crisis its economy is experiencing. For the F.R.G., for instance, export to the socialist countries provides 230,000 jobs. I think that if in reply to discriminatory measures against the U.S.S.R. your country were to stop imports from the F.R.G. the latter would have to think twice before submitting to pressure from Washington.

Alain SOURBEH
Biganos, France

◆ Your issue No. 51 featuring drug addiction lead me to applaud the positive and educational measures taken in the Soviet Union to reduce the scourge of alcoholism. No doubt this campaign will have many beneficial rewards—healthwise, economic and social. Here is another thing. The harmful effects on people's health of another "scourge"—smoking—is universally conceded. How good it would be if the Soviet Union and other countries were to launch a joint campaign against the evils and health-threatening use of tobacco.

Yours for the end of all scourges,

Reuben BARR
San Francisco, U.S.A.

◆ Our newspapers are always talking about the "technical backwardness" of the U.S.S.R. Unfortunately, this notion has taken a firm hold in the minds of my compatriots. Not long ago I actually became involved in a conversation on the subject in a train. One of the passengers said it was because of its own technological backwardness that the Soviet Union is opposed to America's "star wars" programme. I couldn't let that go. "Do you think," I asked, "that when the Soviet cosmonauts spend up to six months in orbit, their food is brought to them by tricycle? After all, they only eat potatoes. So how many journeys would have to be made?" Everyone laughed, and I added: "If they are so backward why are we so afraid of them, why saddle ourselves with NATO and spend so much money on armaments?" Everyone in the car told me I was right on the whole. They had indeed heard something about Soviet achievements in outer space, they said, but our press and television tell us very little about this. I believe that although some articles in your journal do contain denials of the "technical lag" thesis, the subject could bear more detailed coverage. But it would be advisable not to overburden the articles with technical terminology, but to treat of the subject in terms everyone can understand.

Raffaella FILIPELLO
Portici, Italy

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ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE TIME

The CPSU Congress and New Political Thinking

VLADLEN KUZNETSOV

Human thought is not always ahead of the time, indeed, not always even abreast of it. Again and again it lags behind, unable to assimilate new developments.

Our nuclear age presents heightened demands to political thinking, which alone can prevail over and defuse the nuclear time bomb planted under the universe. Humanity, which for the first time in its history has become mortal as man himself as a result of the nuclear threat, needs more than ever political thinking that can safeguard the world against war.

Taut String

The nuclear age compels us all to take a new view of the age-old problem of war and peace. The arms race threatens to get out of hand. The development of armaments and military technology have assumed unprecedented dimensions which eclipse everything seen before. The machinery of war has become so unwieldy, complex and quick-acting that the electronic brain is beginning to compete with the human. The world situation could cease to be determined by politicians and be placed in the power of computers, and man himself could become hostage to technology. And parallel with this the degree of risk will grow — the likelihood of war by mistake as a result of technical malfunctions, snags in the operation of computers.

Past wars, the two world wars included, did not scorch the whole of the planet. But a thermonuclear conflagration would incinerate everything. The geographic factor no longer plays its former role. Nuclear war would not be limited by distance; no one would be able to sit it out anywhere. Nobody would be spared.

The present balance of the opposing nuclear arsenals could be likened to a taut string which with the slightest added strain could snap at any moment. Heedless, senseless continuation of the nuclear arms race threatens to reach a point when even parity ceases to be a factor of military and political deterrence. Peace cannot be endlessly built on fear of retribution, on the doctrines of "deterrence" and terror to which so many in the West attribute the magic significance of nothing short of the best guarantee against war.

Military spending in the world has reached $800 billion annually. And its growth has in the recent period begun to outstrip the growth rate of the global economic product. This has resulted in a glaring discrepancy between the standard of living and the quality of weaponry. A comparison of the levels of 1985 and 1945 given in a study, "World Military and Social Expenditures" put out in the West, shows that in these forty years the standard of living increased fivefold, whereas the quality (firepower and range) of weapons went up 262 times over.

A staggering contrast. Can this go on? Imperialism has on its conscience two world wars and now it is preparing a third. It was the first to use nuclear weapons in practice, and the first to unleash the arms race from which all the nations suffer today. It was the first to begin forming military blocs, and the first to reach out to outer space, from where it threatens to draw a bead on the whole planet. Humanity has the right to call to account imperialism and its offshoot, militarism, which have set themselves in opposition to the overwhelming majority of the world community.

Imperialism is powerful, but not omnipotent. Facing it is the vast potential of peace, reason and good will represented by the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movement, the non-aligned movement, the mass anti-war movement, and other peace forces. This counterweight is steadily and irresistibly growing from strength to strength. The world's forces of peace and progress have the capacity to neutralize the threat emanating from imperialism, to check the drift towards the brink of the nuclear abyss, and to prevent outer space from being turned into a battlefield. Nuclear war is not fatally inevitable. There are no contradictions, no differences between East and West that need give cause to unleash war. This is Moscow's firm conviction.

To Build a World Without Threats

The 27th Congress of the CPSU analyzed the world situation, its pluses and minuses, and its tendencies, and appraised the character and dimensions of the nuclear and other threats stalking the world today. And the forum of Soviet Communists drew this conclusion: "The objective situation on the international arena is such that the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed only and exclusively in the forms of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry." The congress unequivocally confirmed the defensive orientation of Soviet military doctrine, which is based on the premise that nuclear war in any of its variants is unacceptable. It proclaimed as a central aim of Soviet foreign policy in coming years the realization of the programme for the elimination of mass destruction weapons and averting the danger of war. The congress also underscored the special importance of the Soviet Union's project for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security offering reliable and equal protection to all.

The Soviet Union has no great-power, hegemonistic or expansionist ambitions. To claim, as Franz Josef Strauss did in Munich in early March, that the Soviet Union "as hitherto has as its strategic object the preparation of a worldwide communist revolution and imperialist expansion" is to reveal one's total ignorance of the fundamentals of Soviet policy. The Kremlin does not aspire to the role of a supreme arbiter in international affairs or seek to order the destinies of all humanity as the White House does, overestimating the role and possibilities of the U.S. The Soviet leader has described the Soviet Union's role in the international arena thus: "A world without threats must and can be built, a world of good-neighbourship, a world in which each nation would occupy a worthy place respected by the others. The Soviet Union is working towards precisely such a world, wants to be part of it."

Thus, the U.S.S.R. wants to be part of the world, not to establish domination over it through some sort of "world revolution." Moreover, a part that will not vanish from the face of the earth, as some would like it to do.

There is ample place under the sun for all. Only the sun must not be blotted out by radioactive dust.

The U.S.S.R. does not divide the world into zones, into spheres of influence or of "vital interests." The concept of the indivisibility of the world which our country has upheld from its very inception acquired new, even more timely meaning at the 27th Congress. For all its multiformity and contradictoriness, the present-day world is an

General Secretary Gorbachev's Reply to Professor Marois, Head of the Life Institute

Professor Maurice Marois, founder and general delegate of the international Life Institute, which unites the efforts of scientists of different countries for placing science in the service of preserving life on Earth, sent a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The dialogue started in Geneva on November 19, 1985, the letter said, can acquire historic significance if the top leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States speak out for life by urging all the world's nations to support programmes covering the more important aspects of the relationship between science and society. It cannot be that man will fail to find solutions to the problems he himself has posed, the letter said. The ideas of the Life Institute are inspired by the example of Louis Pasteur, a man of struggle and hope who firmly believed that the peoples would reach agreement not to destroy but to create.

The following is Mikhail Gorbachev's reply:

Esteemed Professor Marois,

I read with great interest the letter you sent to me and President Ronald Reagan.

I thank you for the information about the activities and plans of the Life Institute. As seen from your letter, the institute is concerned with truly vital issues which in one way or another trouble any thinking person regardless of which country he lives in and even of what ideological views and political convictions he holds. The consequences for people of the use of high technology; food resources and food; the environment and animate nature; ethics and biomedicine; science, education, television and the future of humanity—these and other subjects on which the Life Institute is working are prompted by life itself and are becoming more urgent, at times sharply acute, with every passing year. Not everyone perhaps is aware of this today but everyone will come to feel and realize this tomorrow—and not later than by the beginning of the next millennium.

Here are my answers to your questions.

Your first question: "Do you think that from the biological, philosophical and political standpoints proclaiming life, especially human life, the supreme value is the priority of our time?"

I could answer this question quite briefly: "Yes, I certainly do." But I would like to add this: the question you raise has interested the finest minds of mankind, one may say, ever since there appeared thinkers in the human race. But in our nuclear-space age it has acquired a new dimension, presented a new facet.

Dostoyevsky wrote in his time, which in terms of history was quite recently: "The mystery of human life is not merely in living but in what to live for." I would not dispute this formula, but ponder the new meaning it is being given in the nuclear age. I would say that in our time it is worthwhile devoting one's life to saving life itself on Earth. There is no goal more important.

Never before in human history has such a problem arisen. But now it has presented itself, crudely and visibly, ruthlessly, inexorably, and on the most

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interdependent, in many respects integral world. Common global concerns and dangers have brought its components closer together, made them more keenly aware of the objective indivisibility and identity of their basic interests in the face of the challenge issued by the nuclear and space age. This is how the world today is perceived by the CPSU and the Soviet government. And, fortunately, not only by them. The West, F.R.G. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher believes, can subscribe to what Mikhail Gorbachev said about the modern world having become "much too small and fragile for wars and a policy of force." The West's requirements, the minister continued, are met also by what Mikhail Gorbachev described as a task of fundamental significance: to behave with "restraint and circumspection on the international scene, to live in a civilized manner, in other words, under conditions of civil international intercourse and cooperation."

It is a good thing when thoughts run in the same direction, when there is agreement. But agreement on words is not enough. It is essential to join in actions, such, for instance, as the unilateral suspension by the Soviet Union of all nuclear explosions, or the unilateral dismantling of the SS-20 missiles that were deployed in reply to the siting of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles.

The grim realities and the dangers with which the present world situation is fraught call for resolute renunciation of thinking in terms of war and armed force, of nuclear confrontation, and even more so of enmity and fanaticism. They call for discarding modes of thinking and action that for centuries were based on the concept that war and armed conflicts are admissible and that armed collision is inevitable.

To arrive at this conclusion in a world oversaturated with arms, a world in which force is given a free hand and at times triumphs, as happened in Grenada, is no simple matter. The logic of confrontation, of the arms race, of countering toughness by toughness, the logic of a situation in which lack of confidence prompts one side not to allow itself to be weaker than the other, when mutual suspicion engenders intransigence and refusal to compromise is a formidable force. The inertia of political thinking and political "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" practice asserts itself. Can anyone in these conditions say with 100 per cent certainty that he is infallible, that he is always right?

Moscow is well aware that human thinking does not adapt itself at once to the new, to the requirements of a bold, non-traditional approach, to the recasting of thinking and psychology, to renunciation of stereotypes that only yesterday seemed unalterable. The present Soviet leadership has begun such a reappraisal, to bring into full conformity with the new realities many customary things, primarily in the military and political spheres, where the problems of war and peace are decided. This applies to such things as peaceful coexistence, security, the role of politics and armed force, the nature of war, and verification of arms limitation and reduction. The Soviet Union approaches all this from a fresh standpoint, a standpoint that is unprejudiced and free of the blinkers of selfishness and national egoism.

The Art of Living Together

The policy of **peaceful coexistence** of states with different systems and ideologies has been the Soviet Union's foreign policy credo from the very

practical plane. No one can brush it aside because it concerns us all. And I am convinced that it should be solved by the efforts of the present generation, our generation. We cannot, we simply have no right to turn the fulfilment of this task over to succeeding generations. Either we accomplish it in the foreseeable historical period and deliver our children and grandchildren from the heavy burden of living under the constant threat of the probable and almost instantaneous self-destruction of humanity; or we do not accomplish it now—and then, even if the worst does not happen, it will be inconceivably difficult or even perhaps impossible to accomplish.

The arms race has already brought mankind to a critical line beyond which it will be faced with the problem of whether it will be able—considering the technical characteristcis of new types of ground or space arms—to curb this race. If we cross that line, life on Earth will hang by a thread which might snap at any moment.

There is no doubt that to survive we must live and act in a new, different way. This applies, in the first place, to the coexistence of states. It is the relations between states that constitute the anatomy and physiology of what we call international life. Relations between states should be built on respect for one another's interests, above all security interests, which should be ensured by material, political, legal, moral and psychological guarantees, on cooperation both in the search for ways to save life and in the solution of numerous global problems on which the quality of that life depends. In other words, the old order of things, under which national security was seen primarily as dependent on military-technical solutions and power politics, an order under which the world has become hostage to nuclear death, must give place to an all-embracing security system covernig all spheres of international relations. Mankind can and must live in harmony with Nature, but to be able to do so it must live in harmony with itself. That is how the question was posed at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Now your second question: "Are you prepared, in the interests of the organization of a peaceful life on the planet and the flourishing of every individual, of all people, to include the contribution of our 'Science in the Service of Life' Programme in the perspective of cooperation and meetings between the two superpowers and of all international cooperation?"

In the first place I must say that we have never laid claim to the role of a "superpower" and we believe that no one should lay claim to this role if we want to rebuild international life along really new lines and thus preserve life on our planet. Present-day science and technology offer an opportunity to beautify, in the full sense of the word, life on Earth, to create conditions for the all-round development of every individual. But it is these very creations of the human mind and human hands that threaten the very existence of the human race. What a crying contradiction! We want science to cease to be the servant of two masters—life and death. We want it to serve life only.

The ideas contained in the "Science in the Service of Life" Programme are essentially such that their implementation presupposes pooling of the efforts both of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., and the efforts of all humanity.

In this light one will find understandable our affirmative answer to your third question also, namely: "Are you prepared to consider the programme proposals to be worked out by the Life Institute during the forthcoming international scientific conference, which is to be attended mostly by scientists from the two superpowers?"

We are ready to consider these proposals and to use them, with due account of their character, in practical politics.

With deep respect and wishes of every success in your work,

M. GORBACHEV

Pravda, March 15, 1986

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beginning of its existence. Now this policy is backed by the experience accumulated over a period of nearly 70 years. It has fully proved its viability and has been conclusively confirmed in practice. It may be said to have become established in international practice as the only correct form of East-West relations. But does this mean that it is a fossilized and immutable phenomenon?

No. The policy of peaceful coexistence in the eighties differs in many respects from what it was at its inception or even after it reached maturity.

Formerly this policy of peace was interrupted by wars. Now there no longer can be such alternation of peace and war. The war-respite-war cycle came to an end when Hiroshima and Nagasaki were atom-bombed.

The nuclear age is radically changing the content of the policy of peaceful coexistence. No one can now ride into a radioactive desert on a white horse. No one can be interested in the conquest of a world that has ceased to exist. It is either peaceful coexistence or no existence at all. There is no third choice. Ability to live together is **no longer** sufficient. It is essential to **survive**, for humanity is faced with the choice between mutual survival and mutual destruction. And to survive it is necessary, the Soviet leadership believes, **to master the great art of living together.** This art cannot be learned from textbooks, for there are none. The mentor is our turbulent, complex, contradictory, problem- and anxiety-ridden age.

Live together... how? By discarding the idea that war is a means of resolving problems and disputes. By renouncing attempts to achieve military superiority, to outstrip the other side in the arms race, by respecting the legitimate interests of others. By concentrating both reason and energy on peaceful cooperation and competition. By not resembling the medieval fanatics and inquisitors who were ready to crucify or burn at the stake all nonconformists. By not trying to convert others to one's own faith, not demanding that they "change their behaviour," that is, their principles, convictions, and system of values. By not presenting ultimatum requiring that socialism cease to be socialism and capitalism cease to be capitalism. Let their dispute be settled not by force of arms but by history, peaceful competition.

These would seem to be simple truths plain to all. But how poorly they are assimilated by some, even government leaders! And this applies primarily not to the West European but to American politicians, who are separated from the U.S.S.R. not only by the natural, physical ocean, but an ocean of prejudice. There is no dearth of examples of this. Let us cite only three—statements made by Caspar Weinberger, Max Kampelman, and Malcolm Toon.

Tea-Leaf Readers

As had happened many times before, on the eve of the 27th Congress of the CPSU some in the West began to indulge in conjecture as to what the Russians had in mind, what they were hatching and what their intentions were. For instance, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, seeking to persuade his audience in the F.R.G. and elsewhere in Western Europe of America's desire to prevent both conventional and nuclear conflicts, said in Bonn in early December last year that it was necessary to get to the bottom of what the Russians had in mind.

As if the U.S.S.R. were some sort of enigmatic sphinx or some unidentified flying object! One can only marvel at how seasoned politicians still read the tea leaves in order to establish what the Soviet Union's real intentions are, just as if it had appeared on the political map only yesterday. Or perhaps they are simply pretending to be blundering in the dark?

The Soviet Union's views on the problem of war and peace in the nuclear age have been set forth with utmost clarity. Soviet policy has no false bottom, no ambiguities, no malicious intentions against any other state. The U.S.S.R. does not accept aggression in any form, it rejects both big wars and small wars and in general is resolutely opposed to the use of armed force in the settlement of international disputes, and is against nuclear rivalry. Soviet policy is predictable all the way to the year 2000 and beyond: it is a policy of upholding peace and renunciation of war.

Like the Pentagon chief, Max Kampelman, the head of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks, is disquieted by Soviet policy — true, by another aspect of that policy. He maintains that the U.S. now has to deal with the most serious adversary in all its history. Things are particularly difficult for America, he says, because the language that adversary speaks is the language of peace. This probably should be understood as meaning that the Russians say one thing and have something altogether different in mind. In any case, their language of peace does not harmonize with the language preferred by official America. Since the U.S.S.R. is the opponent, talks with it have to be conducted from positions of strength. In other words, unilateral advantages must be extracted from it, every effort made to gain military superiority.

What if the U.S.S.R. is regarded not as an opponent but as a partner in resolving common problems? After all, the U.S., and the whole of the West for that matter, needs security, arms reductions and lessening of the burden of military spending no less than the U.S.S.R. Only those find it difficult to deal with the Soviet Union who do not want to seek a common language of peace, but who prefer to speak the language of power politics, antagonism, confrontation and military superiority. But this is not the language that can bring about accord.

Malcolm Toon, former U.S. Ambassador in Moscow, is of the opinion that the U.S. cannot change its attitude to the U.S.S.R. so long as our country remains what it is. There will be no fundamental changes, Toon categorically says, until the reins of power are taken over by a generation of leaders who, as distinct from the present, would no longer be inspired by the ideals of the Great October Revolution and would not seek to spread Soviet influence abroad.

It is hard to believe that a man who has lived in the Soviet Union can be so ignorant of the essential facts.

Thus, on the one hand, intentions totally alien to the Soviet Union are ascribed to it, while, on the other, the "transformation of the Soviet regime," its "evolution" and "liberalization" are demanded. In other words, what is wanted is that socialism should either completely disappear from the historical scene, or, at any rate, turn into something its opponents could tolerate.

Sad to say, the conclusion one must draw is that the philosophy of peaceful coexistence has not yet gained sufficient ground in American thinking. The idea of social revenge, if not by direct military means, then at any rate indirectly, by exhausting socialism in the arms race, or "eroding" it, is still harboured in the United States. Its proponents cannot get it into their heads that the policy of peaceful coexistence excludes interference in any form in the internal affairs of others. The idea of social revanche belongs to the same category as the unthinkable —nuclear war. Socialism and capitalism are fated to coexist. And in their present form, not in the form some would like, otherwise they will be doomed to settle their dispute by non-peaceful means.

It would appear that in the West, primarily in the U.S., the final, irreversible choice has not yet been made in favour of peaceful coexistence. Otherwise there would be none of the hesitancy and zigzags, shifts from détente to anti-détente and, let us hope, back again to détente. But the slightest suggestion of détente is enough for the always ready dogs of confrontation to be let loose.

And after this, Washington persists in maintaining that it is up to the Soviet leadership to choose between cooperation and confrontation. The U.S.S.R. made its choice as far back as 1917. Unfortunately, this is not the case in the United States. ■

PANORAMA

SWEDEN

CONTINUING PALME'S POLICY

After a fortnight of national mourning, on Saturday March 15, the Swedish nation paid its last respects to Olof Palme, for ten years Prime Minister and from 1969 till his death, chairman of the Social Democratic Labour Party. Though only members of his family and friends attended the funeral itself, the entire 3-kilometre route of the cortège through downtown Stockholm, from the City Hall past buildings and places associated in one way or another with the murdered Prime Minister, was lined with crowds of people. They packed Stockholm's narrow streets and alleys standing in solemn silence broken only by the mournful drumbeat. There were mourning processions in many other cities and towns in Sweden.

It is well known that the late Olof Palme devoted much of his time and energy to the issues of war and peace. As U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar emphasized in his address at the funeral ceremony in the City Hall's Blue Chamber, the late Prime Minister had had "a clear understanding of the issues of today." Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi noted that development and disarmament had been Olof Palme's paramount political concerns. He had rejected the theory of confrontation in international affairs and the contest for military superiority.

The presence of statesmen, politicians and public figures from 130 countries at the funeral was tangible evidence of the international recognition accorded to a policy of mutual understanding and cooperation in the interests of security and development. The Soviet government delegation was led by Nikolai Ryzhkov, Soviet Prime Minister and member of the CPSU Central Committee Political Bureau.

On March 12 the Riksdag (the Swedish parliament) elected Ingvar Carlsson new head of government. He polled 178 votes. In line with tradition 159 deputies from the three bourgeois parties abstained, thus signifying their acceptance of the candidate put forward by the Social Democratic Labour Party which won the September general election, and emphasizing their oppositional

role. The composition of the cabinet is virtually the same as before, with only the Vice-Premier's office vacant.

In his first government statement on March 13 in his capacity as Premier Ingvar Carlsson stressed: "Every effort must be made to minimize and eventually banish the threat of nuclear war.... The disarmament initiatives which Sweden has taken conjointly with other countries in five continents will be continued. This includes support for a nuclear freeze and a complete end to nuclear testing. The government is vigorously proceeding with its efforts to make Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone and will seek growing support for the proposed creation in Central Europe of a corridor without battlefield nuclear weapons." In this connection it is noted here that only a few hours before he was killed, Olof Palme was one of the leaders to sign the joint six-nation statement exhorting the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to stop nuclear testing until the next summit. This new initiative on the part of Sweden, India, Mexico, Argentina, Greece and Tanzania, who cosponsored the Delhi call to renounce the use of nuclear weapons and disarm, is not fortuitous. Thanks to the Soviet effort the tests issue is at the focus of world political interest as the crucial move that could start the process of restricting and reducing nuclear stockpiles. With its hastily reiterated negative the U.S. has found itself in isolation.

It has been announced that the visit to the Soviet Union, which was to have been paid by Olof Palme, will be undertaken next month by his successor. "We have a stake in friendly relations with the Soviet Union," Ingvar Carlsson declared. In recent statements he has stressed his intention to proceed with the government policy in the formulation of which he was presumably directly involved.

Recently Carlsson attended a meeting of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security which the late Olof Palme organized and headed. "In this nuclear age," its statement stressed, "there is no alternative to negotiation and cooperation between states. Nuclear war must not be unleashed. It can have no victors." The meeting has urged the nuclear powers to conclude a treaty for a total ban on all nuclear testing and to announce a reciprocal verifiable moratorium on tests. It has likewise stressed the need for the full observance and consolidation of the ABM treaty and indicated the importance of dismantling all intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The meeting also decided to name the body after Olof Palme.

On March 14 Nikolai Ryzhkov met Ingvar Carlsson in Stockholm.

TASS photo

Meanwhile the police are continuing with their investigations of the February 28 assassination. They have produced an identikit picture of the person they believe to have been the killer. A woman portrait painter happened to notice a man fleeing from the scene of the murder down a side street and driving off in a sky-blue Volkswagen, and she has provided the police with several sketches. Other eyewitness accounts and sophisticated electronic equipment specially imported from the F.R.G. have also been used. A man suspected of being an accomplice of the killer has been detained. It has been established that he was near the spot. According to the lawyer, the man, who has been unable to produce an alibi, knows how to handle weapons and "the communist threat is his hobby horse." In a letter to the press, a woman who preferred to remain anonymous wrote that she had seen a man alight from a small sky-blue car, which had driven up to the Esso Motel near downtown Stockholm at top speed, and then step into a waiting Volvo. The police believe this worthy of attention.

Y. GUDKOV
Our Special Correspondent
Stockholm

FRANCE

RIGHT SHIFT

The chief political result of the March 16 general election, in which upwards of 37 million went to the polls, is a new majority in the French National Assembly. The main opposition parties — the Alliance for the Republic led by Mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac and the right-of-centre Union for French Democracy — obtained along with lesser Right-wing parties 291 of the 577 seats (42 per cent of the vote), which has thus guaranteed them a clear parliamentary majority. The hopes of the leaders of these parties that a "tidal wave" would sweep the Socialists out were not destined to materialize. The success of the Alliance and the Union is relative, though their leaders do not conceal their satisfaction with it.

The Socialists, along with their allies, the Radicals, took over 31 per cent of the total ballot (216 seats), presenting a confident showing as France's leading

TALKS IN WARSAW

The negotiations in Warsaw between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Polish counterpart, Marian Orzechowski, proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding. The negotiations have reaffirmed the complete accord that exists between the U.S.S.R. and Poland on the contemporary international issues and the two countries' determination to vigorously work, along with the other Warsaw Treaty member states, to remove the nuclear danger and improve the situation, in Europe and on the planet as a whole.

"Fraternal cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland," the Polish Minister said at a lunch in honour of Eduard Shevardnadze, "is making dynamic progress in all spheres. This is evidence of the ideological bond between our two Marxist-Leninist parties, the community of our interests, and our combined efforts for security and peace throughout the world."

political party as far as their influence with the electorate is concerned. They have already made a bid to form a government, which could be done by enlisting "progressives" from other parties and groupings. The President's support and access to the machinery of power and the mass media proved of considerable help to the Socialist Party.

The French Communists did not make a good showing. Although they gained more votes than in 1984, their proportion in the total vote has dwindled. The Communists now have 35 seats in the National Assembly. It must be noted that they campaigned in an extremely complex situation, under heavy fire from both Right-wing circles and Socialists.

The ultra-right National Front made a real sensation in the election by taking about 10 per cent of the vote and more than 30 seats. It will now be represented in the National Assembly for the first time in recent decades. The fact that the neofascists polled upwards of two million votes demonstrates a swing to the Right on the French political scene. Though the leaders of the conservative parties have pledged not to align themselves with the National Front in the parliament, such an eventuality is not to be ruled out.

Who is to form the new government, and who will head it? This is the question everyone in France is asking. For the first time in the history of the Fifth Republic, whose Constitution was promulgated in 1958, there has arisen a situation which its founder General de Gaulle could not have foreseen, to wit, a president and a parliamentary majority representing rival political forces. This objectively creates a conflict situation. The leaders of the new majority have declared their willingness to form a government. However, it is for the President to decide.

Will the President consent to coexist with the new majority? François Mitterrand has stated his resolve to stay on as President until his term expires in 1988. He enjoys considerable powers and, political commentators believe, he will act as arbiter at this present juncture. They are also unanimous in concluding that France has now entered a phase of political instability.

V. SEMYONOV

March 18

SPAIN—NATO

ANATOMY OF THE REFERENDUM

The 52 per cent majority vote against Spain's withdrawal from NATO in the March 12 referendum tallied neither with the predictions of most observers nor with the results of the public opinion surveys.

What is the reason for this discrepancy? What are the possible consequences of the referendum?

To all appearances, the balance tipped in favour of the Socialist government's pro-Atlantic line at the final stage of the preparations for the referendum. No small role in this was evidently played by the persistent predictions of victory for the opponents of NATO. The figures published from day to day demobilized them, and it is perfectly reasonable to assume that a good many of the 11.5 million who did not go to the polls on March 12 (about 40 per cent of the registered voters) were so confident of victory that they did not bother to vote.

On the other hand, the anti-NATO feeling in the country was so strong that the government had to take action. It stepped up its campaign. In the three and a half weeks preceding the referendum the Socialists held about 8,000 meetings and rallies. They made use also of the government-controlled mass media and primarily television. Members of the Socialist Workers' Party were warned that if they voted against the government position they risked expulsion from the party.

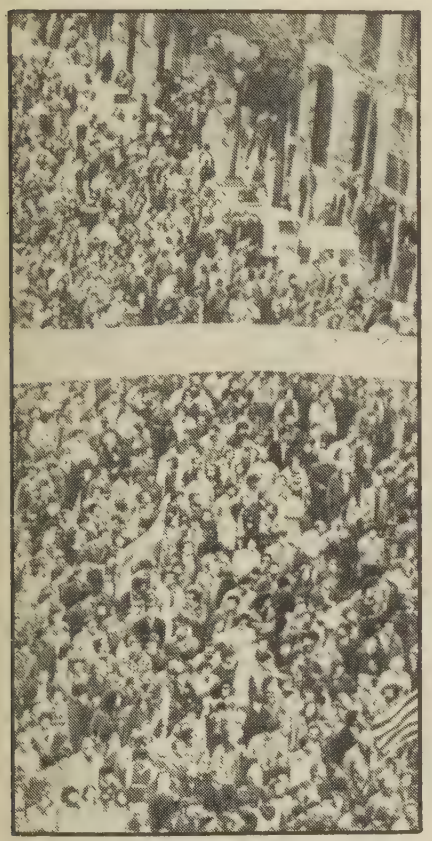
Apart from everything else, the question put in the referendum was ingeniously worded so as not only to confuse the voters but to create the impression that preservation of the NATO links was "harmless." For instance, the fact that Spain's participation in NATO would be conditional on its staying out of the bloc's military system was played up in order to reassure those who fear, not without grounds, that Spain might lose its sovereignty. Promising to reduce U.S. military presence on Spanish territory and declaring that the deployment in Spain or transit through it of nuclear weapons would be banned, the government on the face of it was meeting the anti-nuclear forces halfway.

At the same time, the government newspapers launched a "terror campaign." Prime Minister Gonzalez spoke of a "trauma with unforeseen consequences" and the Foreign Minister dwelt on the "unpredictable moral effect" of withdrawal from NATO. The presidents of eight of Spain's biggest banks issued a joint statement warning of the "disastrous" consequences of such a step for the country's economic prospects.

The fact that, for tactical reasons, the leaders of the Right-wing parties, counting on the fall of the government, urged their followers not to support it, likewise played its part. In these circumstances, for many Spaniards to vote against NATO could open the way to a government of the Right.

It was the combination of all these

factors that gave the victory to the Atlanticists. However, as the Madrid Diario-16 observed, it turned out to be a "sad victory." And indeed, Gonzalez did not strengthen his positions with the parliamentary elections in prospect. As the London Financial Times noted, he won the referendum at the cost of a decline in his reputation.



On pre-referendum days thousands of protesters took to the streets all over Spain under the slogan "No to NATO!" The anti-NATO campaign continues.

EFE-TASS photo

Although they lost the referendum battle, the anti-war forces have not given up the fight. They are regrouping in preparation for struggle in the new conditions against NATO diktat, for the dismantling of the American bases, and for a nuclear-free Spain. "The nearly eight million people who came out openly against Spanish involvement in NATO constitute a mighty force," said the writer Antonio Gala, chairman of the Civil Platform movement which united the supporters of withdrawal from NATO in the run-up to the referendum. The Spanish people believe that this force will make itself felt.

M. KOBRIN

SWITZERLAND

THE PARADOX REMAINS

And so, the paradox remains. Though Switzerland belongs to all the U.N. specialized agencies, many of which are based on its territory, in the United Nations itself it will, as before, merely have the status of an observer, and not full membership. This is the decision of the majority of the Swiss voters who took part in the national referendum on March 16. Only half the electorate went to the polls, with 75.7 per cent voting against and 24.3 for joining the United Nations.

Even before the referendum for most people the outcome was not in doubt. Numerous public opinion polls revealed that those who didn't want Switzerland in the United Nations greatly outnumbered those who did — even in Geneva where more U.N. institutions are concentrated than in any other city in the world.

The referendum was preceded by weeks of heated debate, and the issue itself had been discussed nationwide, with varying degrees of intensity, for about two decades. The debate centred on the problem of Swiss neutrality. Some thought it would not be compromised by U.N. membership, while others maintained that joining the organization would imperil the country's "eternal neutrality" and oblige it to take sides in international disputes and conflicts. Opponents to Switzerland joining the United Nations put forward economic arguments as well — they said it might entail costly participation in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. The entrance fees to these organizations alone would amount to eight billion Swiss francs.

The government, Parliament and most political parties advocating membership of the United Nations were unable to produce counterarguments that would convince the opponents. Influential industrial circles also opposed entry and set up a committee, The Economy Against Joining the U.N. Even the government's promise to reaffirm Swiss neutrality officially in the event of the country joining the United Nations failed to impress the anti-U.N. majority.

N. ZHOLKVER

SOUTH AFRICA

NO ONE SPARED

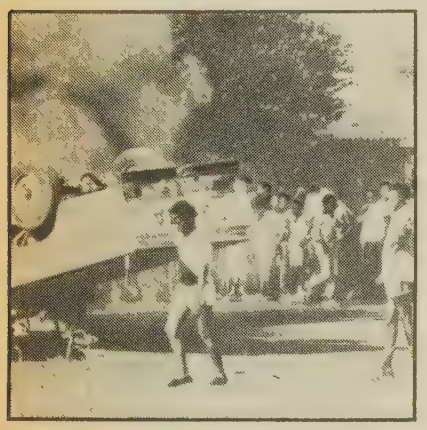
Driven to a frenzy by their inability to crush the anti-racist movement, the South African authorities, despite the formal lifting of the emergency, are taking ever more savage repressive action against the black population, not sparing even juveniles. The names of adolescents constantly figure in reports about Africans arrested, wounded or killed. Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange who heads the machinery of coercion, told parliament in February that among the more than 7,000 Africans arrested by that time more than a quarter were under 16 years of age. This was tantamount to giving the punitive forces carte blanche to come down on African children as a threat to white domination.

As a matter of fact the army and police have never been particularly gentle with children. But what happened on March 11 in the east Transvaal township of Kabokweni stood out for brutality. The police opened fire at a demonstration of 2,000 schoolchildren, killing two and wounding 80. The killed were 14 and 15 years of age.

The killers in police uniform tried to justify their crime by alleging that the children presented a threat to "public safety." Eyewitnesses, however, say that the demonstration was peaceable and

orderly and that there was no cause whatever for using firearms. Moreover, fire was opened when the children had already begun to disperse.

In Bonteheuvel police wielding whiplashes burst into a secondary school and arrested one of the pupils. Another school in the same locality was surrounded by armoured vehicles. Using water cannon, the police drove the children into the classrooms and searched them.



This bloody clash in the settlement of Kwatema near Johannesburg is a typical example of the way of life the racists are implanting in the country.

AP-TASS photo

Meanwhile a helicopter hovered over the school.

It is not only the police that harass children. Groups of Afrikaner "vigilantes," wearing KKK-type hoods, drive around black townships terrorizing the population.

These armed bands give no peace to the inhabitants of the Kagiso township near the white town of Krugersdorp. The local priest told how they attacked children who were playing outside the church. Many youngsters had to be hospitalized.

What is the attitude to all this of the guardians of the law? Speaking in parliament opposition MP Helen Suzman said that the "vigilantes" are "not only tolerated, but are actively encouraged by the police."

Y. BOCHKARYOV

VICIOUS CIRCLE

Washington has never been very kind to protégés who become a burden to it. Which explains why Duvalier, who was flown out of Haiti by the Americans, prefers to live anywhere but in the United States. And ex-president of the Philippines Marcos is less worried about preserving the wealth he took out of that country than about his own personal safety. In this connection the New York Post pointed, not without grounds, to Washington's tendency to "sell out" its onetime friends. Their past services are ignored, all that matters are U.S. political calculations which at present have crystallized into a very definite concept.

The Japanese Yomiuri calls it "the strategy of new interference." Worked out to accord with the "new mood in the American Administration," the paper says, this strategy is aimed at "restructuring the Third World"—"from the Philippines to Nicaragua," the phrase, incidentally, used in the title of the Yomiuri article. "The strategy of new interference," it says, "appeals to the Reagan Administration because, among other things, in giving effect to it Washington shows how it fights for the justice and human rights President Carter only talked about."

One could of course ironize on the theme of America's "right" to interfere in the affairs of developing countries. However, irony in this connection would be out of place, for what is in question is a concept of truly global dimensions. It is not by chance that not only the capitalist press but also American diplomacy is beginning, believe it or not, to chide Pinochet for violations of human rights—Pinochet whom the Americans themselves only yesterday prompted to employ the most savage terror against the Chilean people. Not that the U.S. has ceased to support the dictator or that the accent on violence in the Third World has changed. Rather the reverse. Suffice it to mention the unprecedented campaign for the appropriation of $100 million for the Nicaraguan contras who make no secret of the fact that they are "out for blood."

But what have "justice and human rights" to do with the case? Where do the Philippines come in? The answer is that demonstrating readiness to remove its former placemen in the developing countries Washington makes the grand and widely publicized gesture of offering these countries the gift of parliamentary system after the Western, or, rather, the American model. True, the people of the countries concerned are not asked whether they want such a model. It is assumed that with all its defects, to the masses that model looks preferable to repressive regimes. It would therefore be unwise to underestimate the propaganda effect of the "strategy of new interference." It is capable of hypnotizing quite considerable sections of society in the developing countries.

On sober reflection it is not difficult to see that the "new interference strategy" is nothing but a strategy of deception. In the first place because the slogan "democracy" is used to support the darkest reaction that has nothing whatever in common even with bourgeois democracy—from the Somozists to the Moslem Brotherhood, from the Pol Pot bands to the UNITA terrorists. Secondly, Washington's new strategy pursues the same objectives as the old global strategy—the establishment of its world hegemony. After all, today even the high-ranking American politicians do not hesitate to declare quite frankly that the Philippines interest them primarily as the location of America's Pacific military bases which enable the Pentagon to control the outlet from the Indian into the Pacific Ocean. But what if the Aquino government should present a threat to these bases? Or suppose the Americans decide that in some developing country with a parliamentary system their economic or political interests are being infringed? What will be Washington's attitude to "democracy" in that case?

Here again one cannot but mention Pinochet: who knows but what some time later Washington will not find that he has served his purpose. But 13 years ago it was precisely on Washington's prompting that he overthrew a truly democratic, lawfully elected government and ruthlessly suppressed the opponents of imperialism. And how many such stooges are being groomed at present in the terrorist camps under CIA patronage? They are being groomed for the precise purpose of suppressing democracy if it happens to be genuine democracy and not just a tool in the hands of Washington. After all, in the final analysis it is unlikely that any nation would of its own free will choose the neocolonialism implanted by the United States. On the other hand, Washington too is always ready, if its neocolonialist interests demand it, to sacrifice protégés it no longer needs. That is the vicious circle in which imperialist policy in the Third World revolves. Or rather, one of many such vicious circles.

Dmitry VOLSKY

NEW ORBITING STATION NOW MANNED

Our 60th manned spaceship, Soyuz T-15, lifted off from Baikonur cosmodrome on March 13 to continue the record of new space achievements in the first year of the 12th five-year-plan period, the year of the 27th CPSU Congress, the year, incidentally, of the 25th anniversary of Yuri Gagarin's flight.

The development of cosmonautics, and putting its achievements to practical application in industry, agriculture and engineering has now acquired major importance in the implementation of our national plans for economic development. The station Salyut-7 has been orbiting the earth for almost four years, and for two of these it has had cosmonauts on board. The new-generation research station, Mir, a veritable dwelling in space, went into orbit on February 20. It is already carrying its first crew: Leonid Kizim, twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union (commander pilot) and Vladimir Solovyov, Hero of the Soviet Union (flight engineer).

These cosmonauts hardly need introduction. They are known to millions. In 1984 Leonid Kizim, Vladimir Solovyov and Oleg Atkov set a record in group space flight duration: 237 days. Now Kizim and Solovyov are again partners as the first crew of the Mir orbital station.

On March 15 Soyuz T-15 docked at the station. Following a docking unit pressurization test, the Mayaks (the crew's call signal) transferred to the station. The Mir—Soyuz T-15 manned research complex had started to function in orbit.

The third-generation orbital station Mir is the base unit around which a multipurpose, permanently manned complex, with specialized modules for both research and economic purposes will be built. Although of roughly the same size and weight as Salyut-7, Mir is in fact an entirely new station. Its designers have drawn on many years of experience of the operation of second-generation orbital stations. The main difference between it and its predecessors is that it carries six docking units.

Mir consists of three pressurized modules (adapter, work and transfer) and one non-pressurized module (the service bay). The adapter module, mounted up front, is a spherical shell tapering off into a truncated cone. The butt end of the cone carries the main docking unit aligned with the station's longitudinal axis. There are four more docking units arranged at right angles to it on the perimeter of the spherical shell. As a result, five spacecraft can be docked to the adapter module. Transport ships and modules will be docked to the main docking unit, whereupon special manipulators will move them to vacant side units.

Vladimir Solovyov and Leonid Kizim on board the Mir orbital research station.

TASS photo

Just behind the adapter module is the work module housing the main equipment for the station, control posts, crewmen's work positions, reclining seats, food dispensers and exercisers. The module is virtually identical in size to that of Salyut-7, but looks more spacious thanks to the more rational layout of equipment. Some of the bulkier research equipment will be moved to the research modules.

The work module on Mir has private compartments, an entirely new feature. Each compartment is separated from the rest of the module by a soundproof bulkhead, and has a porthole, a folding seat, a mirror and a sleeping bag rack. On the outside, the module carries two solar battery panels of 38 sq. m. each.

Behind the work module is the service bay, which holds the integrated power plant, fuel tanks and gas cylinders. Running through the service bay is the transfer module to enable cosmonauts to cross from the work module to the transport ship. The sixth docking unit is fitted to the butt end of the transfer module.

The station's flight control processes, onboard systems and research equipment are automated to the highest degree. The capacity of its power supply system has been boosted. The station offers cosmonauts more convenient working conditions and higher standards of comfort. It marks a new advance in Soviet cosmonautics. The modular construction of orbital stations is rightly regarded as the most promising one. Its base element is a module fitted with a number of docking units which can combine with those of self-contained modules of any design, weight or size intended for use as extra-atmospheric observatories, "greenhouses," workshops for the production of semiconductors or biological laboratories for the production of extra-pure medicinal preparations. The modules can either be integrated into the station or fly independently close to it. Their operation cycles will be programmed by the cosmonauts themselves. Having completed a programmed cycle, a module will re-join the station. It is especially noteworthy that modular stations are long-lasting as any obsolescent module can be replaced with a modernized one.

The cosmonauts have spent their first week in orbit, making themselves at home on board the station, acclimatizing to zero gravity, preparing instruments and equipment for operation and activating the MIR's systems. We wish them a happy flight!

G. RYABOV

THEY KILL CHILDREN

LEV YELIN

They start off by saying the Reds invaded Afghanistan from Russia, destroying everything and everyone in sight except children. Children are kidnapped in the streets, dragged out of classrooms and even out of prams. Parents who object are killed. Those who don't are similarly disposed of.

Legions of children (new born babies included) are lined up, marched onto planes and flown to the Soviet city of Tashkent, to make spies and murderers out of them far from home, to create a "Sovietized generation." In Tashkent, babes in arms are separated from older children, fostered, and reared as 100 per cent Soviet officials.

Children old enough to walk are driven with bayonets and rifle butts into "a camp surrounded with a metal fence." They are fed on all sorts of rotten scraps, and disgusting cold stuff out of cans, beaten, trained in ju-jitsu and karate, and transformed into robots programmed to kill.

So, legions of teenage killers, terrorist camps in the U.S.S.R., ju-jitsu—and Russian vodka thrown in for good measure as an indispensable feature of "Sovietization."

These fabrications are not of our inventing. They are the creation of the American press, and, indeed, of officials at the U.S. State Department.

At Top American Level

In 1984 the U.S. State Department issued a report to the effect that the Russians had begun a programme to mould a "new Sovietized elite" in Afghanistan. The rearing of the elite begins at an early age because—the State Department seems to have no doubt about it—only children are gullible enough to believe in Marxist-Leninist theory.

The "free," "objective" and "independent" American press elaborated—"objectively" and absolutely "independently"—on the "theses" circulated by the State Department, livening them up with lurid details betraying varying degrees of dishonesty and lack of scruple.

These publications intended for mass consumption appeared in the popular magazine Reader's Digest, and in the International Herald Tribune, an American paper published in Western Europe.

John Barron of Reader's Digest entitled his story "From Russia with Hate" after Ian Fleming's James Bond novel "From Russia with Love." Another article by Barron was headed "Trained as a Terrorist at Age Nine." It was Barron who wrote about the legions, vodka and karate.

In other words, the State Department report was illustrated by "first-hand accounts" which grew in the telling as more newspapers, magazines and radio stations joined in the campaign, until finally it reached top American level when the U.S. President received Afghan children, "victims of the Soviet war against the people of Afghanistan," in the White House. This March Reader's Digest carried another article with further hair-raising details. The article ends with a box containing words by Senator Gordon Humphrey, chairman of the Congressional Task Force on Afghanistan. Humphrey has been busy for years collecting—or inventing—slanderous "evidence" on the situation in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This time the Senator has drawn a parallel between what is going on in Afghanistan and "the worst atrocities of nazi Germany."

In saying this, Humphrey has insulted a country which was America's ally in the war against the nazis, and whose soldiers released his compatriots from real concentration camps and not those invented by Reader's Digest and Co. Furthermore, he has insulted American war veterans, who linked up with the Russians in 1945 and who will not believe either John Barron or Gordon Humphrey.

But some readers do believe these cock-and-bull stories! So I'd like to answer those who are spreading dishonourable falsehoods around the world.

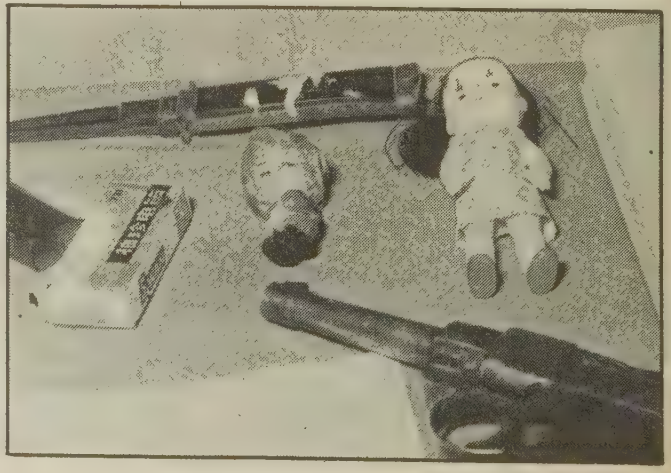
What Afghan Children Are Taught in the U.S.S.R.

There are indeed little Afghans in the Soviet Union—not "legions," but just over a thousand boys and girls. They go to four schools in Tashkent and one in Slavyansk (Krasnodar Territory). The government of Afghanistan, against which international reactionary forces have been fighting a criminal war for six years, killing its citizens and ravaging its economy, is not yet always in a position to provide its children with enough toys, books, schools and kindergartens.

This little Afghan girl now goes to school in the U.S.S.R.—and she plays with dolls.

...And these are dolls and other toys with which "teachers" from Washington wanted to kill her and other girls her age in Afghanistan.

Photos by TASS and Y. Petshakovsky



Hundreds of Afghan children are able to avail of these facilities in the Soviet Union. They come here of their own accord and with their parents' consent, or that of their relatives if the parents are dead.

The father of Firuza Ata Mohammad, 6, was conducting a class when dushmans fired mortar shells at the school, killing the teacher and several of his pupils.

Farid Ahmad Ahtar Mohammad, 9, saw bandits seize his father, stab him several times and then put his eyes out. Firuza dreams of becoming a schoolteacher like her father, and Farid Ahmad wants to be a doctor. Nearly 100 Afghan children have been admitted to a Tashkent school which places emphasis on physics and mathematics.

Afghan schoolteachers have come here, too, to teach the children to read and write their mother tongue, Dari. Books and newspapers in Dari are readily available in Tashkent. Their Soviet hosts in Tashkent and Slavyansk make every effort to ensure that the Afghan children do not forget their culture and customs. Pork, which is taboo for Moslems, has been excluded from their diet, and children from religious families say prayers before meals. Religious holidays are observed. The Afghan boys and girls have two New Year's Eves to celebrate—one on December 31, and the other on March 21 (by the Afghan calendar).

At the end of 1984, after the children arrived in Slavyansk, Soviet citizens—doctors, schoolteachers, engineers, factory workers—started visiting them at their boarding school; many brought their families along. Some asked to be allowed to adopt Afghan orphans so that they would have a new life and forget all the horrors they had been through. These requests were declined on the grounds that the children were Afghan citizens, and their country needed them.

"Tomorrow You Will Be the Fourth"

In the meantime, the hirelings of those who are commissioning the slanders in the American mass media are fighting the war in Afghanistan. They are fighting against a progressive system, and the changes this system is bringing the Afghan people. The reactionaries who have fled to neighbouring Pakistan and who come back only to kill are equally resentful of the land and water reform and the construction of new schools. A schoolteacher is as much an enemy to them as a soldier in the Afghan army. Illiteracy and ignorance are their allies. This is why the dushmans have destroyed and burned down nearly 3,000 schools, murdered more than 3,500 schoolteachers and even greater numbers of schoolchildren.

"I was afraid to go to my school," said Mohammad Zubair, 12, of Jabal-us-Siraj. "Bandits submachine-gunned it, tried to blow it up, attacked pupils, and made short work of them. They killed four of my classmates."

"One day they locked the school, poured gasoline over the building and set it on fire," Afghan schoolteacher Rahima Zurashh remembered on coming to Slavyansk. "All the teachers and pupils died. So those who are now studying in the U.S.S.R. have been saved from certain death."

Mohammad Umar, a Kabul boy, lost his right hand; counterrevolutionaries chopped it off to discourage him from learning to write. Another Kabul boy, Rasul, was pushed into a car as he walked out of school with a satchel slung over his shoulders. The kidnappers blindfolded him with a black kerchief and took him to a small mountain village. There were three schoolboys there already whom the bandits hanged right before Rasul's eyes. Later, dushmans sat around a fire eating meat, throwing bones to Rasul and saying: "Eat, kafir [infidel—**L.Y.**], you will be the fourth one to hang tomorrow."

Rasul managed to escape that night. Somebody fired at him but missed. The chances are that they let him go deliberately so that he would tell his schoolmates in Kabul about the terrible execution, and frighten them away from school.

Killing children is a horrible crime. But teaching children to kill is more horrible still. John Barron spoke of "programmed robots," but he looked for them in a wrong place.

The Afghan security service detained a 10th-former at Kabul's Rahmanbobo Lyceum. He had been "programmed" to kill, in the name of God, elementary school pupils just back from a holiday in the U.S.S.R.

Dushmans taught Abdul Nabi, an 8th-former, how to do blastwork. He and other boys his age were given a course of CIA-prepared lectures—and then sent to blow up power transmission lines near Kabul.

A. Nasir and M. Bashir, students at the Abdukhanif Madrasah, were to kill activists fighting to defend people's power.

Instructions on terrorism printed in Pakistan and the West in the form of easy-to-understand comic strips as well as porno magazines are palmed off on schoolchildren. These are considered the most edifying "textbooks" for the Muslim youth of Afghanistan, textbooks which would make them ideal "fighters for Islam and freedom" devoid of any moral or religious scruples, ignorant, full of hate and experts in killing.

It is not Soviet or Afghan soldiers who are committing atrocities in Afghanistan. It is the dushmans who do all the killing, burning and maiming. They are trained and armed at a hundred bases in Pakistan manned also by American instructors. Professional mercenaries—U.S. citizens—take part in incursions into Afghan territory and it is from them that dushmans take their orders. Mines disguised as toys explode in Afghan children's hands. These mines are made in the U.S., not the U.S.S.R. Any journalist who comes to Afghanistan not on the sly but with a visa would be able to see several such toys which remained unexploded, all of them bearing the inscription "Made in U.S.A.," and the maimed little Afghans. A booby trap made to look like a ball-point pen blasted in the hands of Abdul Sabir Abdul Jamil, 12, of Kabul, tearing both his palms off.

Missiles!

The White House has already allocated over 1.5 billion dollars to the dushmans—for booby-trap toys, the destruction of school buildings and the killing of schoolteachers.

Considerable sums are spent on manipulating public opinion: the Afghan "freedom fighters" need more money and more weapons. This is the purpose of propaganda campaigns like the one mentioned at the beginning of this article. It makes no difference who they pretend to "defend": children, women or "human rights" in general.

Let us leaf through John Barron's "From Russia with Hate." Having filled a few pages with horror stories, Barron starts talking about pinning hopes on the rest of the world. It turns out that the dushmans need almost everything, including long-range missile launchers and **ground-to-air missiles.**

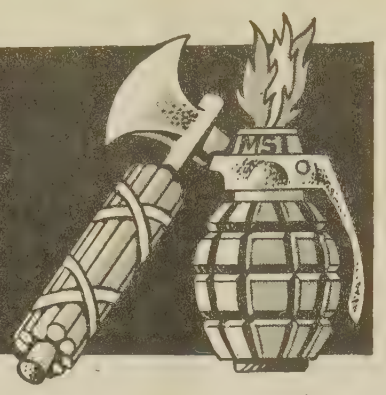
During a reception of Afghan children in the White House, which abounded in scenes with a calculated emotional effect, S. Mojadidi, a leader of the counterrevolution, asked his hosts for "effective weapons"—namely, **ground-to-air missiles.**

So it is missiles they want this time. Entertain neither doubts nor hesitations when it comes to increasing military aid to the "Afghan resistance," the article in the March issue of the Reader's Digest demands. It only remains to let the dushmans have all the missiles they want, so that the counterrevolutionaries can kill still more efficiently and on a larger scale. As they killed 52 people late last year when they hit a Kabul-Kandahar passenger plane with a ground-to-air missile.

This "exploit" can be credited to all in the U.S. who "protect" Afghan children so "honestly and disinterestedly." ■

Fascism is raising its head in Italy, as elsewhere in the West. Bomb outrages and political murders announce its resurgence. Why the revival of blackshirt terrorism?

CENTURIONS OF REACTION



LEV MAKAREVICH

"Eia, eia, alala!"

Today, forty years after the Nuremberg trial, this battle-cry of the fascists of Mussolini's time is again terrorizing entire districts of Rome and other Italian cities chosen by the latter-day blackshirts as the arena for their sallies.

Many in Italy still dismiss all this with an ironical smile. But the neofascists brazen it out, saying, like the neonazis in the F.R.G.: "Smile if you wish, soon the time will come when the smile will be wiped off your faces."

Bands of cutthroats armed with knives, chains and axes raid schools, as happened in the case of the lyceum on Rome's Via Ripetta and the Enrico Fermi technical college. They have not yet set fire to the Montecitorio and Madama, the seats of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, as Hitler's nazis did to the Reichstag, but they are not lacking in determination to settle scores with the "Reds." Student demonstrations are attacked. Incendiary bombs are hurled at buses and into the premises of political parties. Bloody brawls are provoked in discotheques and gambling machine halls.

The crimes committed by devotees of the Duce to finance their activity are rapidly increasing in number. Raids and robberies are more and more often practised in league with the mafia. Another category of Mussolini votaries, the very appearance of whom is enough to give the jitters to the more impressionable, specialize in stirring up riots at football stadiums, the excitable fans providing the ideal medium for eruptions of violence provoked by neofascists. What happened in Brussels is a case in point.

Members of the police force are also being added to the growing list of victims. An attack on a highway patrol on the Rome-L'Aquila motorway, for instance, was followed by this telephone call to the ANSA news agency: "Black Order speaking. We have avenged the death of our members at this spot in 1984." The reference was to the death of two neofascist terrorists in an exchange of fire. Until the mid-1970s the group had styled itself New Order.

Tomorrow What?

Clandestine training camps of the same kind as those that operated in the seventies in Lazio, Umbria, Emilia-Romagna, Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia and elsewhere are being set up for blackshirt strong-arm men all over Italy.

Thus, after years in a torpid state the blackshirts are again raising their heads in Italy. What accounts for this resurgence? Is it only because fascism has deep social and political roots and feeds on the realities of the capitalist society?

The reanimation of the fascists is reaction's reply to the successes registered by the Left parties. Economic crises and depressions have placed at the helm in a number of countries what in the U.S. and Britain are called the New Right, who exercise a powerful influence not only on the Reagan Administration and the Thatcher cabinet, but on the public life of other countries, Italy included.

In many of these countries the entire moral and political climate is changing. In the wake of the F.R.G., in Italy too the mass media, as if in response to a signal, have begun to display a heightened interest in Mussolini's time. Biographies of fascist leaders are being published in huge editions. Television serials are devoted to the Duce's associates. Films on Duce himself are being made and demonstrated. The long decomposed corpse is yielding lush returns. Exhibitions are arranged relating to the economy and culture of the fascist dictatorship, which is depicted as an epoch of upswing in all areas. The crimes of the regime are passed over in silence. As a result, allergy to fascism is being overcome.

Today the blackshirts do not feel they are outcasts. The organizers and perpetrators of the most outrageous terrorist acts that have taken a toll of hundreds of lives are being acquitted for "lack of evidence." Who knows but that yesterday's bandits will tomorrow be lauded as a "healthy movement of the Italian youth." Grey-haired legislators are well aware of the elasticity of laws and know how to meet the "patriotic lads" half-way.

The neoconservative wave largely accounts also for the successes gained by the neofascist party, the Italian Social Movement—National Right Forces. In the June 1983 parliamentary election it polled 7.2 per cent of the vote for the Senate and 6.8 per cent for the Chamber of Deputies. The neofascists now have 18 seats in the Senate (5 more than previously) and 42 in the Chamber of Deputies (13 more). In some constituencies their electoral support increased by more than 20 per cent. Last year's local elections confirmed this upward trend.

The leader of the neofascist party, Giorgio Almirante, nicknamed "Ducetto," believes it has broken out of its political isolation of the past 10 years. This was evidenced also by the elections to the European parliament, where, together with Le Pen's French National Front and like-minded deputies from other countries, the neofascists make up a highly active group. The Ducetto and his French counterpart have entree even to the Vatican.

The illegal ties between the blackshirts and international ultra-Right organizations belonging to the so-called "black international" involved in the recent assassination of the prominent Swedish government and public leader Olof Palme have latterly become increasingly lively. According to press reports, the headquarters of this "international" has moved from Spain to Britain, where many Italian neofascists sought by the police for crimes they have committed have gone into hiding. Together with their opposite numbers in other countries they are hatching plans for new "demonstrative actions."

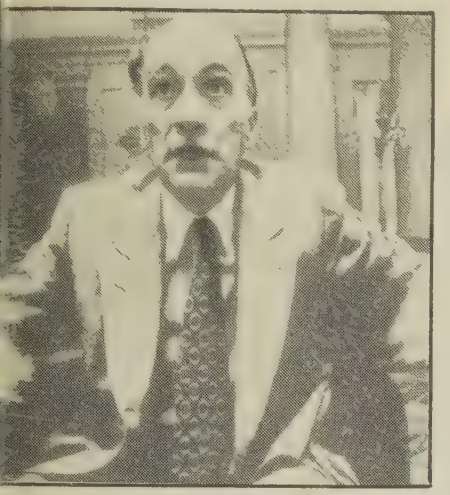
There is also another reason for the Right-wing revival. Right extremist terrorism, to a far greater extent than the Left extremist variety, has always been state terrorism, part of the machinery of coercion. This clandestine army is

dexterously directed from behind the scenes by invisible power centres in Italy and abroad.

...One-time CIA agent Victor Marchetti was evasive, but the interviewer was insistent:

"What will happen if the Italian Communist Party emerges in the elections as the decisive force in the country's political life?"

"For the eventuality of the Communists getting close to power, the U.S. National Security Council, which shapes the foreign and military policy of the White House, has contingency plans for Italy. In these plans, which are constantly revised in keeping with the changing situation, the CIA plays the principal role."



Giorgio Almirante has a penchant for parliamentary catchphrases and smart clothes. His gunmen prefer karate and rangers' uniforms.

Photo and drawing from Europeo (Italy)

"What do the contingency plans provide for?"

"Intervention of various kinds, including extreme measures."

"Could you say exactly what the CIA considers an extreme measure?"

"Coup d'état. Establishment of a military junta, as in Chile."

"Do the contingency plans envisage cooperation between the SID [as Italian military intelligence and counterintelligence was formerly called—**L.M.**] and the neofascists?"

"As far as I know the SID has always had close ties with the neofascists. Perhaps it has organized some neofascist groups. The neofascists are inclined to violence and capable of fomenting disorders and incidents with a view to laying the blame for them on their opponents. They have always been very useful to... the CIA."

"Could you clarify that?"

"No, as a former employee of the CIA I must be cautious in answering questions. Otherwise I might find myself in prison."

"And so even neofascists can come in handy in case of need?"

"If things go badly, yes. But programmes of this kind are highly confidential even inside the CIA."

No one is better informed than Marchetti. He worked for the CIA for 14 years, from 1955 to 1969, and held high positions. His last post was that of assistant deputy director of the agency.

Schools for Killers

The above interview to the Milan magazine Panorama reveals the substance of the "strategy of tension" the CIA and other U.S. undercover services pursue in Italy through the agency of the blackshirts. Despite the heavy veil of secrecy drawn over operations of this order, reports affording an idea of the unsavoury activity of the transatlantic "dirty tricks department" seep from time to time into the Western press.

The general principles of this strategy were set forth in the document NSC 1/3 of March 8, 1948. In the event of the Communists gaining control of the Italian government by lawful means, the document said, partial mobilization is essential as a clear demonstration of America's determination to stand up to "communist aggression" and to safeguard "national security." Provision was also made for financial and military support of the Italian anti-communist underground. Assurances of firm American support could encourage the non-communist elements in Italy to make a final vigorous effort, even at the risk of civil war, to prevent the consolidation of communist control, the document said.

Apart from its unwonted frankness, the directive is interesting also from another angle. A review of international developments of the past thirty years will show that NSC 1/3 has been the basis of Washington's policy towards other countries. Witness the U.S. stance in regard to Greece, Spain, Portugal, France, Latin American countries. But let us return to Italy.

In a rare moment of truth, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger set forth the present variant of the above-mentioned doctrine thus: the U.S. has the unlimited right to interfere, with the object of bringing about internal changes, in countries that present no threat to the security of the United States and may even be its allies.

Terrorism, and in particular neofascist terrorism, occupies an important place in the arsenal of Washington's arm-twisting diplomacy. The brutality of the latter-day followers of the Duce, the effectiveness of their outrages, and the fear they inspire are all very useful to Washington.

The American special services infiltrated the neofascist underground in Italy through diverse channels—through Italian military intelligence and counterintelligence, and also independently, by sending in their own agents or recruiting the leaders of extremist groups, and by organizing illegal bands under various labels.

As mentioned above, many neofascist terrorists are given military training in special camps. One of these was located near Alghero, Sardinia. It was set up by the Americans. The recruits, selected mainly from the National Vanguard, the National Front, the Black Order and the Revolutionary Armed Movement, were given a course of training lasting from two or three weeks to six months.

Besides being instructed in the use of firearms, explosives and communications equipment, the blackshirts were taught hand-to-hand fighting, how to infiltrate Leftist "revolutionary" groups, organize, finance and direct them.

After completing the training course the terrorists were sent back to their native parts, where they formed groups of 5 to 12. All their arms and other equipment were to be kept in secret caches in their respective localities. The activities of these clandestine groups were coordinated by an officer from the information department of the nearest army unit who was subordinated only to the chief of Italian military intelligence and counterintelligence, which in turn was controlled by the CIA. The Alghero camp alone trained several thousand hitmen.

Secret Directive 9a 32199

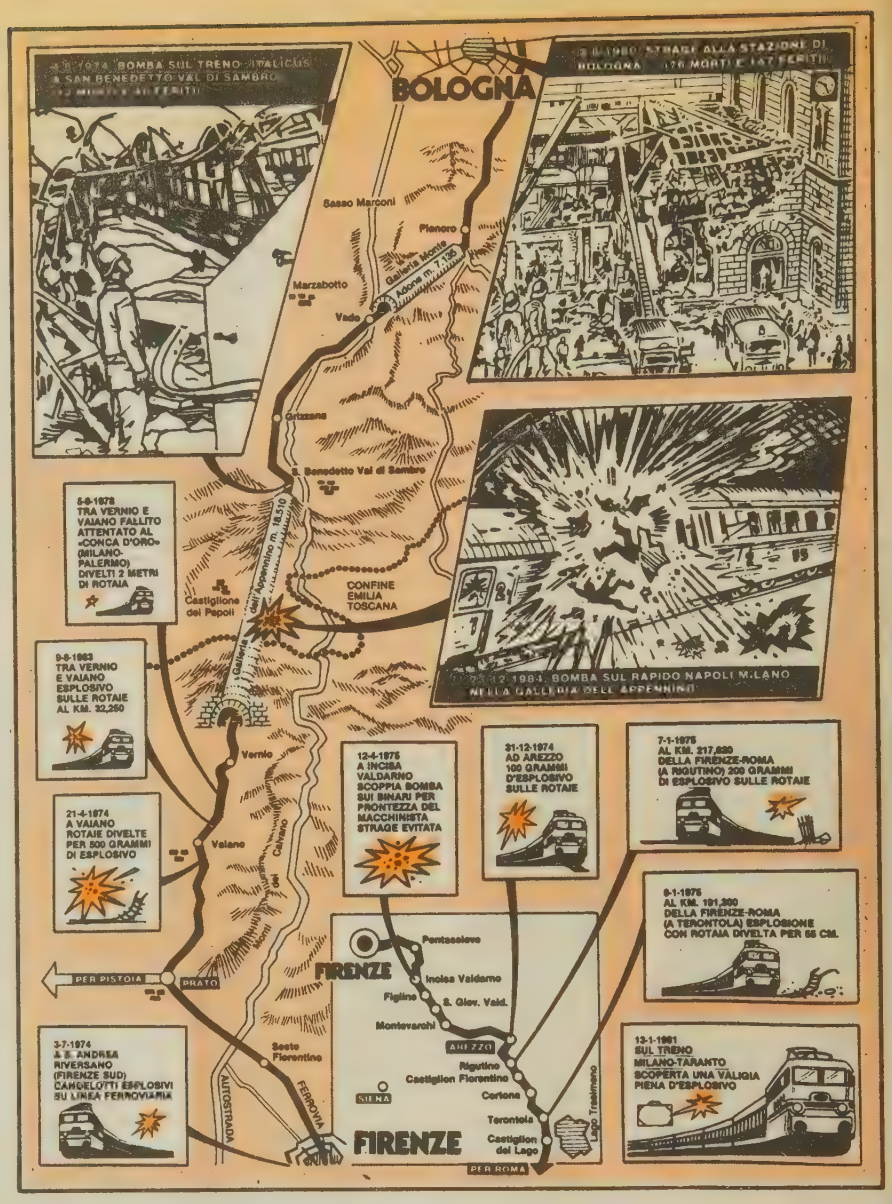
In 1975 the camp was officially closed. But many in Italy are convinced that it was simply moved to a new site, farther away from curious eyes. It is noteworthy that it was at this time that Left extremist terrorism made its debut on the Italian political scene. Needless to say, like neofascism, the phenomenon of the Red Brigades and leftist terrorism in general is too complex to be attributed to its infiltration by secret services. But there are certain facts that cannot but give food for thought. For instance, the fact that many "red" terrorists were trained at the camp near Alghero. Indicative, too, is it that General Vito Miceli, chief of Italian military intelligence and counterintelligence with CIA connections, arrested for involvement in a neofascist conspiracy, told interrogators in September 1974: "You won't be hearing of blackshirt terrorism any more. Now you'll be hearing of terrorists of a different kind."

Both kinds manipulated by the same puppeteer? This is no longer a hypothesis but a proven fact.

" 'Terrorism' is merely a term, a catchword intended for the public," an official of the Italian Ministry of the Interior who did not want his name to be disclosed, told an interviewer from the Repubblica. "To us they are professionals."

"Foreign?"

"Foreign too."


BOLOGNA
Sasso Marconi
Pianoro
Galleria Monte Adone m. 1135
Marzabotto
Vado
Grizzana
S. Benedetto Val di Sambro
CONFINE EMILIA TOSCANA
Castiglione dei Pepoli
Galleria dell'Appennino m. 18.510
Vernio
Vaiano
Calenzano
Prato
PER PISTOIA
FIRENZE
Pontassieve
Incisa Valdarno
Figline
S. Giov. Vald.
Montevarchi
Rignino
Castiglion Fiorentino
Cortona
Terontola
Castiglion del Lago
Lago Trasimeno
PER ROMA
Sesto Fiorentino
AUTOSTRADA
FERROVIA
AREZZO
SIENA
5-8-1974 BOMBA SUL TRENO ITALICUS A SAN BENEDETTO VAL DI SAMBRO
12 MORTI E 48 FERITI
2-8-1980 STRAGE ALLA STAZIONE DI BOLOGNA 176 MORTI E 147 FERITI
5-8-1978 TRA VERNIO E VAIANO FALLITO ATTENTATO AL «CONCA D'ORO» (MILANO-PALERMO) DIVELTI 2 METRI DI ROTAIA
9-8-1983 TRA VERNIO E VAIANO ESPLOSIVO SULLE ROTAIE AL KM. 32,250
21-4-1974 A VAIANO ROTAIE DIVELTE PER 500 GRAMMI DI ESPLOSIVO
3-7-1974 S. ANDREA RIVERSANO (FIRENZE SUD) CANDELOTTI ESPLOSIVI SU LINEA FERROVIARIA
12-4-1975 A INCISA VALDARNO SCOPPIA BOMBA SUI BINARI PER PRONTEZZA DEL MACCHINISTA STRAGE EVITATA
31-12-1974 AD AREZZO 100 GRAMMI D'ESPLOSIVO SULLE ROTAIE
7-1-1975 AL KM. 217,820 DELLA FIRENZE-ROMA (A RIGUTINO) 200 GRAMMI DI ESPLOSIVO SULLE ROTAIE
9-1-1975 AL KM. 191,200 DELLA FIRENZE-ROMA (A TERONTOLA) ESPLOSIONE CON ROTAIA DIVELTA PER 55 CM.
13-1-1981 SUL TRENO MILANO-TARANTO SCOPERTA UNA VALIGIA PIENA D'ESPLOSIVO
12-1-1984 BOMBA SUL RAPIDO NAPOLI M.LANO NELLA GALLERIA DELL'APPENNINO

This stretch of railway from Bologna to Florence and Terontola has for ten years been the scene of neofascist outrages that have taken a toll of hundreds of killed and wounded.

"Who exactly?"

"West Germans, Americans...".

In 1985 the existence of another secret blackshirt military training centre located at the U.S. Camp Derby base between Pisa and Leghorn was revealed. Trained here, among others, are members of the Black Order. It is in place to recall that in the United States itself there are numerous training camps for terrorists, saboteurs and killers who are sent to other countries. The biggest of these camps are near Miami in Florida, Atlanta in Georgia, in Texas, California and other states.

After the entry into office of the Reagan Administration, the CIA was ordered to step up its activity. It was given carte blanche to do so on December 4, 1981, when the President went to Langley to sign Presidential Order 12333, removing the minor formal restrictions on the CIA and other secret services, introduced in the seventies by Congress, and ending control over them by the legislators. Henceforth the White House assumed the exclusive right to determine the purposes and forms of special operations. The CIA began to operate with greater mobility and dexterity and at the same time still more brazenly and openly. This is particularly evident in the case of Italy.

Speaking of the penetration of the neofascist terrorist underground by the U.S. covert services, mention must be made of such a channel as the Masonic lodge Propaganda-2 headed by the fascist Licio Gelli. That the Freemasons traditionally hold key positions in the U.S. establishment, in all the higher

echelons of the political, business, military and intelligence elite, is not news. Less known is it that, with the help of their Italian blackshirt "brothers," they have sought to gain control over Italy.

During World War II it was proposed to use the Masons as a screen for fascist provocations. OSS document No. 9a 32199 of September 15, 1944 recorded that the Italian Right wanted Masonic cover for terrorist groups that had chosen the Communist Party as their target. A network of U.S. secret agents was established to render them assistance.

At the end of the war, before Italy had been fully liberated from the nazis, Freemasons from the OSS began arriving in the country to set up their network. The operation was directed by OSS representative in Europe Allen Dulles, himself a Freemason, who became deputy director of the CIA in 1951 and two years later, its director. Another OSS boss, Italian-born Frank Gigliotti, also a Mason, was instructed to purge the Italian lodges of all "Left" and other suspicious elements.

In April 1960, when the Italian government, having entered into an alliance with the neofascists, was getting ready to use firearms against workers' demonstrations, a delegation of American Freemasons arrived in Rome and was received by a personal representative of the President and members of the government. The visit marked the completion of the reorganization of Italian Masonic lodges. From now on the American "brothers" were in a position through their colleagues in Italy to impose on that country the kind of policy Washington wanted.

Before long the U.S. top diplomatic posts in Rome were filled by the most able figures in American Freemasonry representing the interests of the military-industrial complex. The commanders of the U.S. and NATO military bases in Italy and the top men of the North Atlantic bloc were all bound by the rigid discipline of the society. In the 1950s and 1960s special lodges were set up for U.S. officers in Italy—e. g., the George Washington lodge in Vicenza, the Verona American in Verona, the Aviano in Friuli, the Benjamin Franklin in Leghorn, the Harry Truman in Bagnoli, and the Coliseum in Rome (the last named included also diplomats). All these lodges could easily contact the Italian neofascist Masons directly on Italian territory.

The most influential of the Italian lodges was, and, despite its exposure and official banning, still is Licio Gelli's Propaganda-2. A special report of the Italian security service describes it as the most formidable behind-the-scenes power centre in Italy. Gelli himself began as a nazi Oberleutenant and later, in the autumn of 1944, went over to the Americans, offering his services to U.S. Fifth Army military intelligence and counterintelligence. It is in place to recall in this connection that the NATO Supreme Commander in Europe in 1962-68 General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, also a Freemason, was at the time deputy chief of staff of the Fifth Army and in 1944-45 had, on orders from above, discussed the "technical details" of a possible separate agreement with the nazis in secret from the Soviet ally. It was in those years and in the same army that Vernon A. Walters, an expert on Italian affairs and now U.S. representative in the United Nations, began his brilliant career in the U.S. covert services.

Since then Licio Gelli has enjoyed the patronage of the U.S. special services. In November 1966 they helped him to join lodge P-2 as an "apprentice" and to become its unchallenged boss by the beginning of 1975.

P-2 was conceived by the Americans on a far bigger scale than might be assumed. Its activities extend far beyond the bounds of Italy. Through it profitable oil deals are arranged, and arms trade with the countries of Latin America, the Middle East, Africa and other regions is actively carried on. With the help of the Masons the CIA and the Pentagon impose their own policy in military matters on the governments of other countries and bribe top political and government leaders in order to boost U.S. arms sales abroad,

This is what a neofascist bomb did to a railway car and its passengers on December 23, 1984.

Photos and diagram from Panorama (Italy)

as in the case of Lockheed aircraft. The generals and the "brothers" go arm in arm.

Some observers see a connection between the membership in P-2 of the top brass of all the armed and secret services and Rome's consent to grant Washington bases for the deployment of the latest U.S. nuclear missiles. After all, the lodge was the product of military Big Business. The former leader of the lodge was for years the head of the RACOIN arms trade concern.

P-2 became a state within a state. Cabinet ministers, members of parliament, financiers, generals, high society ladies, priests and stockmarket speculators thronged the reception rooms of Gelli's suite in the Hotel Excelsior across the street from the U.S. Embassy. Gelli behaved like an American proconsul—he chastised and absolved, pulled strings and arranged careers. This was the life—a far cry from trading in second-hand mattresses by which he had made his living immediately after the war.

Brought into the world by CIA midwives, P-2 took in the cream of Italy's anti-communists and Atlanticists of all hues—from Socialists and Social Democrats to Christian Democrats and neofascists. Gelli saw Italy as a drowning hysterical woman who needed a good knock on the head to bring her to and allow herself to be saved. He believed that such a knock on the head could only be a coup d'état. His headquarters drew up plans for putsches and elaborated in detail actions to be taken by a "strong government"—revision of the Constitution and the prerogatives of the secret services, abolition of parliamentary immunity, reform of the courts, suppression of disloyal mass media, suspension of trade union activity. Gelli sincerely believed that he could perform the role of dictator and "suppressor of Marxism" no worse than Mussolini.

Guarding the Interests of "Great America"

The terrorists helped and still help to pave the way to that radiant future. There has not been a single major political crime in Italy since the war in which the hand of the Freemasons and their American patrons has not been discernible. All the coup attempts without exception, all the bomb explosions in banks and trains, the assassinations of prominent public leaders and well-known criminal investigators are in one way or another associated with the "brothers."

The heads of many neofascist organizations—the Italian Social Movement-National Right Forces, National Front, Black Order, National Vanguard, Europa-Civilta—belong to Gelli's lodge. The biggest influx of centurions of reaction into that lodge began in 1969 when the "strategy of tensión" was brought home to Italy. It was in that year that the U.S. National Security Council and the Italian Right decided to make P-2 a cover for the Duce's latter-day followers.

After the P-2 exposure, Gelli fled. The reward for his head still remains unclaimed. But the web he wove is as firmly in place as ever.

When Gelli's daughter was arrested in July 1981, documents drawn up by U.S. armed forces command and marked "top secret" were found. These were instructions to U.S. military intelligence to make a study of, control and use in the interests of the United States terrorist organizations in "friendly countries," including Italy.

Fascists are quick to grasp what is wanted of them. By skilfully manipulating the terrorists through the Masons, the CIA operates rather successfully in Italy. On more than one occasion the Americans have had investigations of blackshirt crimes dropped and have saved their own people from the axe, or, on the contrary, have deftly placed under it those who had outlived their usefulness or become dangerous for Washington.

It is noteworthy that exposures of neofascist crimes have never gone beyond the limits considered admissible in the United States. However, what has come to light is impressive enough. Italians are now well aware, within the permitted limits, how Washington metes out punishment. Italy has been unequivocally warned what to expect if it fails to toe the line, and who it is that stands on guard of the geopolitical interests of "great America."

It is not by chance that many in Italy saw in the December 23, 1984, bomb explosion in the passenger train (15 dead, 116 injured) a clear warning to Rome, which had sought to take an independent position on a number of issues—from Mediterranean policy to problems of war and peace. In this connection, the weekly Rinascita wrote that terrorism has long been a lever of pressure on the domestic and foreign policy of countries.

The secret operations carried out through the agency of the neofascists, the terror, sabotage, arson, bomb outrages, assassinations and conspiracies reveal what underlies the attitude of the American ruling class to its allies and to other countries in general: the conviction that the United States has the natural right to interfere —that might is right. Law and morality are one thing, and real life, something else again. The object is not to allow partners to escape from the vise of limited sovereignty they were caught in after World War II. To prevent progressive change, to weaken the democratic forces, especially the Communists in whom the United States sees the main threat to itself. That is why Washington does not hesitate to call in the neofascists when it needs them. The trans-Atlantic elite is none too fastidious. Political decorum is alien to it.

Keeping Ally in Line

Not long ago Italian Social Movement-National Right Forces leader Giorgio Almirante was received in the United States. The Ducetto was shown around in New York, Washington, San Francisco and Atlantic City. Lectures were arranged for him at the leading universities and he had meetings with prominent members of the Republican Party, with officials of the Italian division of the State Department and with representatives of the Reagan Administration. Why such a warm reception to this mini-Mussolini? All fascists, like members of the world's oldest profession, live by selling themselves to someone. The Ducetto has a simple explanation for this: the Americans appreciate the readiness of the ISM-NRF to help keep Italy in line, to see to it that agreements the Italian government has concluded with the U.S. and its commitments to the latter are strictly honoured. And America is not slow to demonstrate that appreciation.

Formerly fascism, as Goebbels said, helped to rid nations of the malaise of Bolshevism. Its job now, in Washington's view, is to rid them also of the chimera of independence.

Also appreciated in America is Almirante's strategy of not entering the ruling majority, but exerting effective pressure on it from the Right. This is the role of the ISM-NRF in the eighties. The American geopoliticians see great promise in this, especially considering the problems Washington is encountering in other Mediterranean countries—Greece, Turkey, Spain, France, Egypt.

The nods of approval from the other side of the ocean make the Italian neofascist leader feel good.

"We are not yet invited to supper," says Almirante. "But for coffee and cocktails we are welcome. Very well, we are ready to serve. We won't refuse anyone. Our only condition is that we be asked openly."

■

TAKING UP A POINT

You have set yourself the task of doubling your economic potential and radically modernizing production by the end of the century. This will involve colossal expense. It seems to me that there are only two paths open to you: either to withdraw resources from the social sphere, or borrow large sums from aboad.

Peter McGEARY
London, Britain

VLADIMIR GUREVICH, Novosti Press Agency news analyst, replies

The plans drawn up by the 27th CPSU Congress do indeed provide for a more active investment policy. You may be interested to know that early this decade the U.S.S.R. already led the world in capital investment in industry. Over the past few years, however, investment growth rate has gone down. This rate must now be stepped up if we are to modernize the economy on a large scale. We have therefore decided to increase capital investment in production by 25 per cent in the current five-year period (1986-90) as against 16 per cent in 1981-85. Overall investment will grow by 170 billion to total almost a trillion rubles.

Increasing the rate of capital investment is no easy matter, however. It requires that the way in which we distribute our national income be changed, that is, that the share going to the accumulation fund be increased, and that going to the consumption fund be correspondingly decreased. And this is exactly what we are going to do in the current five-year period. Later, the share of accumulation in the U.S.S.R.'s national economy is to be stabilized and, with time, somewhat reduced.

Does this mean that your assumption is correct? That this investment manoeuvre will diminish our potential in the consumption sphere—for the time being, at least—and reduce living standards? The record of certain Western countries shows that with the restructuring of the utilization pattern of the national income (chiefly, as is now often the case, through increased military spending), living standards do indeed cease to rise and allocations for social welfare are reduced. But this will not happen here. The standard of living and the level of consumption will continue to go up in the U.S.S.R.

There is nothing paradoxical about this. Despite a reduction in the share of consumption in the national income, in real terms it will continue to grow—and even more so than in previous years. As a result, the U.S.S.R.'s consumption fund will grow by 74 billion rubles in this five-year period (as against 55 billion in 1981-85), and real per capita incomes—by 13-15 per cent (as against 11 per cent). At the same time, we are accelerating the rate of housing construction, planning to offer new benefits and allowances to various categories of the population, and increase wages and salaries considerably over the entire national economy.

As you see freezing—let alone cutting—allocations for social welfare does not enter into our intentions. We do reduce the relative proportions of the consumption fund but only for the purpose of steadily increasing this fund at a higher rate than ever later on.

No society can afford to spend all its resources on consumption and leave next to nothing for further development. If it did, the national income growth rate would go down, and this would inevitably tell on the nation's welfare standards in the long term. This is why we consider it necessary to increase our investment in the national economy in order to obtain, in the last analysis, still further resources for use in the social sphere.

You have mentioned the need for colossal expense. But the amount is not all. A change in our investment pattern will also go a long way towards the projected doubling of the U.S.S.R.'s economic potential. Up to now most of our resources have gone into the expansion of production through new construction. However, this construction has now assumed proportions which can result in the dissipation of resources and the dragging out of building schedules. (More than 300,000 construction projects, large and small, are currently under way.) Furthermore, many new factories are shorthanded.

For this reason, the emphasis now is on investing much more in the reconstruction and re-equipping of the industrial plant already in operation. By 1990, the proportion of such investments will amount to at least 50 per cent of the total. The congress made it clear that as a result in 1985-90 greater resources will be spent on modernizing operative production facilities than in the whole of the previous decade.

The result will be more than just the modernization of our industry. Reconstruction costs much less than new construction, and all the expenses involved in the former are justified much sooner. In the end such a redistribution of investment will prove an important added source of funds.

It is also worth mentioning here that we are going to extend to more Soviet factories the principle of being completely self-supporting, which has already proved itself in many cases. Self-supporting factories contribute a fixed proportion of their profits to the state budget without demanding a penny for production and reconstruction in return. Whereas previously they often pressed the state for more and more donations, now they will depend solely for their earnings on producing competitive goods. A self-financing plant will certainly be more prudent and circumspect in its investment policy and seek to justify its expenses as quickly as possible. This means greater investment efficiency and, consequently, higher economic returns.

As for the credit we possess abroad (i.e., external sources of funding), this is normal international business practice. Here is just one example to illustrate the importance of foreign credit to the U.S.S.R. Over the last decade our import of machines and equipment (for the acquisition of which, in keeping with world commercial practice, we use most of our credits) from industrialized capitalist countries constituted a mere 3-4 per cent of our own mechanical engineering industry's output. Although we do not intend to forgo foreign credit in carrying out our investment programmes, this source of funding is of minor importance to us.

■

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

THE PROGRAMME
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

A New Edition

Approved by the 27th Congress of the CPSU on March 1, 1986

INTRODUCTION

Born of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet land has traversed a long and glorious road. Victories of worldwide historic importance have been scored under the leadership of the Communist Party. Consistently expressing the interests of the working class, of all working people, and armed with Marxist-Leninist teaching, with a wealth of experience in revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people along the course of communist creative endeavour and peace.

The Party emerged on the political scene as a worthy successor to the ideas of the socialist transformation of society proclaimed in the first programme document of the Communists—the "Communist Manifesto," to the unfading exploit of the heroes of the Paris Commune, and to the revolutionary traditions of the international working class and of the Russian revolutionary democratic movement.

Relying on the historical experience of the class struggle and the best that was achieved by human thought, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of scientific communism, discovered the objective laws of social development, theoretically proved the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism, and substantiated the world historic mission of the proletariat as the creator of the new, communist system. Their passionate call—"Workers of all countries, unite!"—remains to this day the fighting slogan of the working-class movement.

In new historical conditions Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who brilliantly continued the cause of Marx and Engels, comprehensively developed their teaching, provided answers to vital questions of the times and armed the working-class movement with the theory of socialist revolution and the building of socialism, with a scientific system of views on problems of war and peace.

Marxism-Leninism is an integral revolutionary teaching. Created by the great Lenin, the Party has become the living embodiment of the fusion of scientific socialism with the working-class movement, of the unbreakable unity of theory and practice. It has been and will be a party of Marxism-Leninism, a party of revolutionary action.

At each stage in history the CPSU accomplished the tasks that were scientifically formulated in its programmes.

Having adopted its First Programme at the 2nd Congress in 1903, the Bolshevik Party led the working class, the peasantry, all the working people of Russia in the struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and then the capitalist system, and passed through the flames of three Russian revolutions. In October 1917 the working class took political power into its hands. A state of workers and peasants came into being for the first time in history. **The creation of a new world began.**

In the Second Programme, adopted at the 8th Congress in 1919, the Party set the task of building socialism. Following untrodden paths, overcoming incredible difficulties, and displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party implemented the plan for building socialism worked out by Lenin. **Socialism in our country became a reality.**

With the adoption of the Third Programme at the 22nd Congress in 1961, the Party undertook enormous work in all areas of the building of communism. The

Soviet society achieved great successes in developing productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy, and culture, and in moulding the new man. **The country entered the stage of developed socialism.** The role of the Soviet Union grew as a powerful factor in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression, aggression and war, for peace, democracy and social progress.

The time that has elapsed since the Third Programme was adopted has confirmed the correctness of its main theoretical and political propositions. At the same time, accumulated experience and scientific understanding of the changes in the country's domestic life and in the world arena provide an opportunity to define more accurately and concretely the prospects for Soviet society's development, the ways and means of attaining the ultimate goal—communism, and the tasks of international policy in new historical conditions.

The Third Programme of the CPSU in its present updated edition is a programme for the planned and all-round perfection of socialism, for Soviet society's further advance to communism through the country's accelerated socio-economic development. It is a programme of the struggle for peace and social progress.

PART ONE

THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM— THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE PRESENT EPOCH

I. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Mankind's history-making turn towards socialism, begun by the October Revolution, is a natural result of social development.

Capitalism is the last exploiter system in human history. Having given a powerful impetus to the development of productive forces, it then became an obstacle to social progress.

The history of capitalism is the history of the aggravation of its main contradiction—the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation, of the growing exploitation of the working class and all working people, of the aggravation of the struggle between labour and capital, the oppressed and the oppressors, of economic crises, socio-political upheavals, wars of conquest and conflicts bringing endless hardships to working people.

Early in the 20th century the process of the concentration and centralization of capital resulted in the emergence of powerful capitalist monopoly associations that seized the main levers in the whole of economic and political life. Capitalism entered its highest and last stage—the stage of imperialism. In the words of Lenin, "capitalism in its imperialist stage has turned into the greatest oppressor of nations," the primary source of wars of aggression.

The material conditions for replacing capitalist production relations by socialist ones took shape and the objective and subjective prerequisites for a victorious socialist revolution mature at the stage of imperialism. **History has entrusted the working class with the mission of the revolutionary transformation of the old society and the creation of the new one.** In fulfilling this mission the working class serves not just its own class interests, but those of all working people.

Aggravated by tsarist oppression and the vestiges of serfdom, imperialism's contradictions manifested themselves in Russia with exceptional force. Russia turned out to be the weakest link of world imperialism, the focal point of its contradictions. It was to Russia that the centre of the world revolutionary movement shifted, and the Russian proletariat faced the most difficult and important task of being the first to break the chain of the bourgeoisie's world domination. This could be done only under the leadership of a party of a new type—a fighting revolutionary organization of the proletariat.

The formation of the Bolshevik Party became the turning point in the history of the Russian and international working-class movement. This was an expression of an objective requirement of social development, of the proletariat's class struggle, the fruit of scientific foresight, a result of the untiring political and organizational activity of Lenin and the Marxists who had rallied round him. Lenin's call "Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will overturn Russia" found fervent response in the hearts and minds of workers, the progressive-minded people in Russian society, the best representatives of the working people. Lenin worked out the ideological, political and organizational principles of the Party, and the methods for its work among the masses. The party of the new type was formed and grew stronger in the course of implacable clashes with revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, dogmatism and Leftist adventurism.

The revolution of 1905-07, the first people's revolution of the imperialist epoch, showed the strength of the working class and was a prologue to the proletariat's coming victories. The bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 eliminated tsarism, but it did not deliver the popular masses from social and national oppression, from the hardships of imperialist war, nor did it resolve the contradictions that were tearing Russian society apart. Socialist revolution became an urgent demand of the times.

The working class of Russia was known for its fervent revolutionary spirit and high level of organization. It was led by the Bolshevik Party, steeled in political battles and armed with progressive revolutionary theory. Lenin gave it a clear perspective of struggle by evolving the theory that a victorious proletarian revolution in conditions of imperialism was possible initially in one or several countries.

At the call of the Bolshevik Party and under its leadership the working class began a decisive battle against the power of capital. The Party brought together into one powerful stream the proletarian struggle for socialism, the peasants' struggle for land, the national liberation struggle of Russia's oppressed peoples, and the nationwide movement against imperialist war and for peace, and directed that stream towards overthrowing the bourgeois system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution became a landmark in world history, determined the general direction and main trends of world development, and initiated the irreversible process of the replacement of capitalism by the new, communist socio-economic formation.

A state of the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged and became established for the first time in history. Rallying together all working people, the working class set about resolving the most complex problems of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and creating the foundations of the new society.

The winning of political power, victories on the Civil War fronts, the rout of foreign military interventionists, and prospects for building a new life generated a powerful upsurge of strength and revolutionary energy among the working people. They overcame the privations and difficulties caused by economic dislocation, the counterrevolutionary plots and sabotage by the bourgeoisie, and the country's technical, economic and cultural backwardness. In the transition period, the class struggle at times took the form of bitter clashes. The Soviet Union was subjected to fierce attacks by the hostile capitalist encirclement, to numerous military and political provocations.

Relying on the enthusiasm of the masses, repulsing the attacks by Right-wing and Leftist opportunists, and strengthening its ideological, political and organizational unity, the Party undeviatingly pursued the Leninist general line aimed at building socialism.

The basic means of production passed into the hands of the people. The **nationalization** of land, factories, plants and banks ensured the preconditions necessary for asserting and developing socialist ownership and organizing a system of planned economy. **Industrialization** turned the Soviet Union into a powerful industrial state. **Collectivization** of agriculture was a breakthrough in economic relations, in the entire life of the peasantry. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was placed on a solid socio-economic foundation. As a result of the **cultural revolution,** illiteracy was stamped out, broad vistas were opened for the development of creative forces and the intellectual flourishing of the working man, a socialist intelligentsia emerged, and Marxist-Leninist ideology became dominant in the minds of the Soviet people.

The solution of the **nationalities question** is an outstanding accomplishment of socialism. The victory of the October Revolution forever put an end to national oppression and inequality among nations and ethnic groups. A tremendous role was played here by the voluntary unification of the free and equal peoples into a single multinational state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In the course of building socialism rapid economic, social and cultural progress of the former national outlands was ensured. Ethnic conflicts became a thing of the past, and fraternal friendship, close cooperation and mutual assistance of all peoples of the U.S.S.R. became a way of life.

All this signified that a social transformation of worldwide historic importance had been accomplished —the age-old dominance of private ownership was eliminated and exploitation of man by man abolished forever. Socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society took shape on the basis of the common interests of the working class, the collective farmers, people's intelligentsia, and the working people of all nationalities. The working man became the full master of the country. **A socialist society in the U.S.S.R. was essentially built.**

The Great Patriotic War was a severe trial for the new system. The Soviet people and its armed forces rallied round the Party and, displaying unprecedented heroism, inflicted a crushing defeat on German fascism —the strike force of world imperialist reaction. By its victory the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the liberation of European peoples from nazi slavery, to saving world civilization. The rout of nazi Germany and militarist Japan opened up new possibilities for peoples' struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The Soviet people's victory raised high the Soviet state's international prestige.

Within a short period the U.S.S.R. healed the deep wounds of war, considerably strengthened its economic, scientific, technological and defence potential, and consolidated its position internationally. **The victory of socialism in our country was final and complete.**

In its economic, socio-political and cultural development, Soviet society, relying on its achievements, continued to advance confidently. An integral national economic complex took shape in the country. Large new areas in the North and East of the country were developed, and nature management became more efficient. National income and productivity of social labour grew considerably. The level of the people's well-being was raised substantially and a huge housing construction programme was carried out. The people's cultural wealth increased, the transition to universal secondary education was completed, and Soviet science and technology achieved outstanding successes. The Soviet Union built the first atomic power station and the first atomic-powered icebreaker; it also launched the first artificial satellite of the Earth and the first manned spaceship.

The socialist social relations gained in strength, a new social and international community—the Soviet people—emerged. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat grew into a socialist state of all people.

Displaying Bolshevik fidelity to principle and a self-critical approach, and relying on the support of the masses, the Party did a great deal to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult, deviations from the Leninist norms of Party and state guidance, and to rectify errors of a subjectivist, voluntaristic nature. Soviet democracy was further developed and socialist legality consolidated.

The Soviet people's persistent work, great achievements in the economic, social and political spheres,

science and culture have brought our country to new historical frontiers that marked the beginning of the stage of developed socialism.

The establishment of military-strategic parity between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO was a historic accomplishment of socialism. It strengthened the positions of the U.S.S.R., the countries of socialism and all progressive forces, and dashed the hopes cherished by aggressive imperialist circles of winning a world nuclear war. Preservation of this balance is vital for ensuring peace and international security.

The experience of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the indisputable socio-economic, political, ideological and moral advantages of the new society as a stage in mankind's progress that is superior to capitalism, and provides answers to questions that the bourgeois system is incapable of solving.

Socialism is a society on whose banner are inscribed the words "Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man." It is a society in which:

— the means of production are in the hands of the people, an end has been put forever to exploitation of man by man, social oppression, the rule of a privileged minority, and the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people;

— the broadest vistas have been opened for the dynamic and planned development of productive forces, and scientific and technological progress brings not unemployment but a steady growth in the well-being of the entire people;

— the equal right to work and pay in conformity with the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is ensured, and the population enjoys such social benefits as free medical service and education, and housing with a minimum rent;

— the inviolable alliance of the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia has been affirmed, men and women have equal rights and guarantees for exercising them, the young generation is offered a reliable road into the future, and social security for veterans of labour is guaranteed;

— national inequality is abolished, the juridical and factual equality, friendship and brotherhood of all peoples and nationalities are established;

— genuine democracy—power exercised for the people and by the people—has been established and is developing, and broad and equal participation of citizens in the management of production, public and state affairs is ensured;

— the ideas of freedom, human rights and dignity of the individual are filled with real content, unity of rights and duties is ensured, uniform laws and norms of morality and a single discipline apply to each and all, and increasingly favourable conditions are taking shape for the all-round development of the individual;

— the truly humanistic Marxist-Leninist ideology is dominant, the popular masses have access to all sources of knowledge, and an advanced socialist culture has been created which absorbs all that is best in world culture;

— a socialist way of life which gives working people confidence in the future, spiritually and morally elevates them as creators of new social relations and of their own destiny has taken shape on the basis of social justice, collectivism and comradely mutual assistance.

Socialism is a society whose thoughts and actions in the international arena are directed towards supporting the peoples' striving for independence and social progress, and are subordinated to the main task of preserving and consolidating peace.

At the new stage of historical development our Party and the Soviet people are faced with the task in all its magnitude of the all-round perfection of socialist society and a fuller and more effective utilization of its possibilities and advantages for further advance towards communism.

II. Struggle Between the Forces of Progress and Reaction in the Modern World

After the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism the worldwide historical process of social liberation, which began with the Great October Revolution, was marked by the overthrow of the power of exploiters in several countries in Europe and Asia and then America. **Socialism, which first became a reality in our country, has turned into a world system.** The Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society has been verified in practice on an international scale, socialism has asserted itself on vast expanses of the earth, and hundreds of millions of people are following the road of creating a communist civilization. More and more nations are losing their confidence in capitalism; they do not wish to associate their prospects of development with it and are persistently searching for and finding ways of socialist transformation of their countries.

The successes of socialism are all the more impressive because they have been achieved within very short time spans, in conditions of imperialism's unceasing pressure—from economic pressure and ideological subversion to direct attempts to stage counterrevolutonary coups and launch military aggression.

The experience accumulated in socialist countries is of lasting significance. The past decades have enriched the practice of the building of socialism and clearly demonstrated the diversity of the world of socialism. At the same time the experience of these decades shows the immense importance of the **general laws of socialism,** such as the power of working people, with the working class playing the leading role; guidance of society's development by the Communist Party armed with the ideology of scientific socialism; establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production and on this basis the planned growth of the economy in the interests of the people; implementation of the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship of all nations and nationalities; and defence of revolutionary gains from encroachments by class enemies.

The use of the general laws in the specific conditions

of each of the socialist countries forms the basis of their confident advance, the overcoming of the growing pains and the resolving in good time of contradictions that arise; it is a real contribution of the ruling Communist parties to the general process of socialist development.

Socialism has brought forth a new, previously unknown type of international relations, which are developing between socialist states. Their firm foundation consists of a uniform socio-economic and political system; Marxist-Leninist ideology; class solidarity; friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance in carrying out tasks of building and defending the new society; the struggle for peace, international security, social progress; and equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

Relations of socialist internationalism have been most fully embodied in the **socialist community.** The countries belonging to the community—member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization—are united by common fundamental interests and aims and by ties of extensive multifaceted cooperation, and coordinate their actions in international affairs. History has not known such a community of countries in which no one country has or can have special rights and privileges, in which international relations have really become relations between peoples, and in which fruitful ties at various levels have taken shape and are developing—from the highest level of Party and state leadership to work collectives. The community multiplies the strength of the fraternal states in the building of socialism and helps reliably to ensure their security.

The objective requirement of the socialist countries' drawing ever closer together stems from the very essence of socialism. Whereas in the capitalist world the law of uneven economic, socio-political and cultural development operates, and strong countries enrich themselves by plundering weak ones and prolong in every way the backwardness of the latter, socialism creates the necessary conditions for raising the less developed countries to the level of the developed ones. The higher and the more similar the levels of social development of socialist countries, the richer and deeper their cooperation, the more organic the process of their drawing together.

The establishment of the socialist world system, the formation and strengthening of the socialist community have brought about a **fundamental change in the alignment of forces in the international arena** in favour of the peoples fighting for social progress, democracy, national freedom and peace. The socialist community is the most authoritative force of our time and without it no issue in world politics can be solved; it is a firm bulwark of peace on earth, the most consistent champion of sound, peaceful, democratic principles in international relations, the main force opposing imperialist reaction.

The young, forward-looking world of socialism is opposed by the exploiter world of capitalism which is still strong and dangerous, but which has already passed its peak. **The general crisis of capitalism is deepening.** The sphere of its domination is shrinking inevitably, its historical doom becoming ever more obvious.

Modern capitalism differs in many ways from what it was at the beginning and even in the middle of the 20th century. In conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, which combines the strength of the monopolies and the state, the conflict between the vastly increased productive forces and capitalist production relations is becoming ever more acute. The inner instability of the economy is growing, which is seen in the slowing down of the overall rates of its growth, in the intertwining and deepening of cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become a chronic disease, and budget deficits and state debts have reached a colossal scale.

The strengthening of transnational corporations, which make huge profits by exploiting working people on a world scale, is a direct result of capitalist concentration and internationalization of production. They not only undermine the sovereignty of newly free states, but also encroach on the national interests of developed capitalist countries.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is constantly manoeuvring in an attempt to adjust itself to the changing situation. A capitalist state redistributes, in particular through the budget, a considerable part of the national income in favour of big capital and tries to place at its service the latest achievements in science and technology. The mechanism of exploitation has become more complex, more sophisticated. The skills, intellectual powers and the energy of the worker are being exploited for gaining more and more profit.

With the growing influence of world socialism, the class struggle of working people at times compels the capitalists to make partial concessions, to agree to certain improvements as regards working conditions, remuneration for work and social security. This is being done to preserve the main thing—the domination of capital. Such manoeuvring, however, is being increasingly combined with violent actions, with a direct assault by the monopolies and the bourgeois state on the living standards of working people.

Under capitalism the scientific and technological revolution has grave social consequences. Millions of working people, thrown out of the factory gates, are doomed to losing their skills and to material hardships, and can have no confidence in the future. A considerable proportion of young people cannot find application for their energy and knowledge and suffer from the hopelessness of their condition. Mass unemployment remains regardless of the economic situation, while the real prospect of its further growth is fraught with the most serious upheavals for capitalism as a social system.

The monopolies have seized the dominant positions in the agrarian sector of the economy. Large numbers of farmers are being forced out of the production sphere while those who survive do so at the cost of excessive work and privations. The fate of farmers' families depends entirely on market fluctuations and the arbitrariness of monopolies. The plight of the peasantry is especially grave in the former colonies and semi-colonies. The small and middle businessmen in cities are being increasingly exploited by big capital and are caught in the net of financial dependence.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries a great number of people are deprived, homeless, illiterate and without medical care. Shameful discrimination against ethnic minorities persists and the rights of women are infringed upon.

A tendency towards an all-round intensification of reaction is characteristic of imperialism in the political field. Wherever the working people have achieved certain democratic rights as a result of determined struggle, state-monopoly capitalism is conducting a persistent, at times cunningly camouflaged offensive against those rights. In situations that pose a danger to state-monopoly capitalism, it resorts without hesitation to political blackmail, repression, terror and punitive actions. Neofascism is becoming increasingly active in the political arena. When the usual forms of suppressing working people fail, imperialism implants and backs tyrannic regimes in order directly to suppress progressive forces by military means. Striving to weaken the international solidarity of working people, imperialism

stirs up and abets national egoism, chauvinism and racism, and scorn for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural and historical heritage.

The inhumane ideology of modern capitalism is inflicting ever greater damage on the spiritual world of people. The cult of individualism, violence and permissiveness, rabid anti-communism and exploitation of culture as a source of profit give rise to spiritual callousness, to moral degradation. Imperialism has given rise to large-scale crime and terrorism that have engulfed capitalist society. Ever more pernicious is the role of the bourgeois mass media which befuddle people in the interests of the ruling class.

The uneven nature of the development of countries within the capitalist system is deepening. Three main centres of interimperialist rivalry have formed: the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Competition is mounting between them for markets, spheres of capital investment, sources of raw materials and superiority in the key areas of scientific and technological progress. New centres of economic and political rivalry are forming, particularly in the Pacific basin and in Latin America. Contradictions between bourgeois states are deepening. The imperial ambitions and selfish policy of the U.S. monopolies and their readiness, for egoistic reasons, to sacrifice the interests and security of other, even allied, states are giving rise to growing indignation and alarm throughout the world.

Imperialism is responsible for the huge and widening gap between the economic development levels of the industrial capitalist countries and the majority of the newly free states, for the continued existence on earth of vast zones of hunger, poverty and epidemic diseases.

As the course of historical development more and more weakens the positions of imperialism, the policy of its more reactionary forces becomes increasingly hostile to the interests of the peoples. Imperialism is putting up fierce resistance to social progress, and is trying to stop the course of history, to undermine the positions of socialism, and to avenge itself socially on a world scale. The imperialist powers strive to coordinate their economic, political and ideological strategy, to create a common front of struggle against socialism, against all revolutionary, liberation movements.

Imperialism refuses to face the political realities of today's world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it tries to deprive them of their right to choose their road of development and threatens their security. Herein lies the main cause of conflicts in various parts of the world.

The citadel of international reaction is U.S. imperialism. The threat of war comes chiefly from it. Claiming world domination, it arbitrarily declares whole continents to be zones of its "vital interests." The U.S. policy of hegemony, the imposition of its will and unequal relations on other states, support for repressive anti-popular regimes and discrimination against countries that do not suit the United States, disorganizes interstate economic and political relations and prevents their normal development.

The bloody war against Vietnam, the blockade of Cuba for many years, the flouting of the lawful rights of the Palestinian people, the intervention in Lebanon, the armed seizure of defenceless Grenada, and the aggressive actions against Nicaragua—these are only some of the countless crimes that will remain forever the most shameful pages in imperialism's history.

The race unleashed by imperialism in the manufacture of nuclear and other arms on a scale that knows no precedent is its gravest crime against the peoples. It brings the monopolies huge profits. The colossal military expenditures weigh heavily on the shoulders of working people. The monopolies that manufacture arms, the military, the state bureaucracy, the ideological machinery and militarized science, that have merged to form the military-industrial complex, have become the most zealous advocates and makers of policies of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance of the death merchants and imperialist state power is a pillar of extreme reaction, a constant and growing source of war danger, and a convincing confirmation of the capitalist system's political, social and moral untenability.

No "modifications" and manoeuvres by modern capitalism have rendered invalid or can render invalid the laws of its development, or can overcome the acute antagonism between labour and capital, between the monopolies and society, or can bring the historically doomed capitalist system out of its all-permeating crisis. The dialectics of development are such that the very same means which capitalism puts to use with the aim of strengthening its positions inevitably lead to an aggravation of all its deep-seated contradictions. Imperialism is parasitical, decaying and moribund capitalism; it marks the eve of socialist revolution.

The working class was and is the main revolutionary class of the present age. In the capitalist world, it is the main force struggling for the overthrow of the exploiting system and for building a new society.

Practice confirms the Marxist-Leninist concept of the increasing role of the working class in society. As science is being applied in production on an ever larger scale, the ranks of the working class are being replenished with highly skilled workers. In the course of class battles, the working class becomes more cohesive, creates its own political parties, trade unions and other organizations, and wages economic, political and ideological struggle against capitalism. The scale of that struggle is growing, its forms are becoming more diverse and its content is being enriched. The basic interests of the proletariat make it more and more imperative to achieve unity in the working-class movement and concerted actions by all its contingents.

The young and rapidly growing working class in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is facing difficult tasks. It is opposed both by foreign capital and local exploiters. Its political maturity and degree of organization are growing in the course of struggle.

The vanguard of the working-class movement, of all the forces of the world revolutionary process is the international communist movement. Communists are working for both the immediate and the long-term goals of the working class, for the interests of all the working people, for social progress, national liberation of peoples, disarmament and peace. The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of our time.

The revolutionary parties of the working class are guided by the scientific theory of social development, Marxism-Leninism, and are pursuing a principled class policy. They are characterized by a conviction in the historical inevitability of the replacement of capitalism by socialism, a clear understanding of the objective laws of socialist revolution in whatever form —peaceful or non-peaceful—and an ability to apply the general principles of struggle for socialism in the specific conditions of every country.

The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they firmly uphold the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, point out ways of leading society out of the crisis situation of bourgeois society, indicate

a real alternative to the exploiter system and provide answers, imbued with social optimism, to the basic questions of our time. They are the true exponents and the most staunch defenders of the national interests of their countries.

A consistently class-oriented course enhances the authority of the Communist parties, despite the fact that the political and ideological machinery of imperialism is operating in an increasingly subtle way. It is combining discrimination against and persecution of Communists and outright anti-communist propaganda with support for those elements in the working-class movement that are opposed to class policy and international solidarity, and that endorse social reconciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie. The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionary forces attack the Communists so fiercely precisely because the latter represent a movement that has deep roots in social development and that expresses the most vital interests of the mass of the people.

A characteristic feature of our time is **an upsurge of mass democratic movements in the non-socialist world.** The antagonism between the monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the population is deepening in capitalist countries. Professionals and office employees, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national minorities, women's organizations, young people and students are taking an ever more active part in the struggle against the dominance of the monopolies and against the reactionary policy of the ruling classes. People of different political views are demanding an end to the militarization of society and to the policy of aggression and war, an end to racial and national discrimination, to infringements on the rights of women, to the deterioration in the condition of the younger generation, to corruption, and to the predatory attitude of the monopolies towards the use of natural resources and the environment. These movements are objectively directed against the policy of the reactionary circles of imperialism and merge with the overall struggle for peace and social progress.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and countries that have cast off the yoke of colonialism for the consolidation of their independence and for social progress is an integral part of the world revolutionary process. The disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of dozens of independent states from its ruins are a historic achievement of the national liberation revolutions and movements, an achievement that has considerably influenced the alignment of forces in the world.

Since independence many of those countries have made appreciable progress in economic and cultural development and in consolidating national statehood. Collective forms of struggle by those countries for their rights in the international arena have taken shape. Practice has shown, however, that their way to the consolidation of political independence and to economic and social rejuvenation is being seriously hampered by the legacy of their colonial and semi-colonial past and by the actions of imperialism.

Conducting a policy of neocolonialism, imperialism is seeking to reduce to naught the sovereignty won by the young states and to retain and even tighten control over them. It is trying to drag them into a militarist orbit and to use them as springboards for its aggressive global strategy. In pursuing these goals, the imperialists resort to military pressure, impose their economic diktat and support internal reaction. Even countries that won state independence long ago, for instance, Latin American countries, have to wage a resolute struggle against the dominance of the monopolies of the United States and other imperialist powers.

Taking advantage of the economic and technological dependence of the newly free countries and their unequal status in the capitalist world economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them. It is exacting tributes that run into billions of dollars, and which are exhausting the economies of those states. The huge indebtedness of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the industrially developed capitalist states has become an important lever for the exploitation of these countries by imperialism, and primarily U.S. imperialism. At the same time, the resistance of the peoples of these countries to the policy of plunder and robbery is growing. They are continuing their determined, just struggle against neocolonialism, against interference in their internal affairs, and against racism and apartheid. This resistance objectively links up with the overall anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, peace, and social progress.

The non-capitalist way of development, **the way of socialist orientation,** chosen by a number of newly free countries, is opening up broad prospects for social progress. The experience of these countries confirms that in present-day conditions, with the existing world alignment of forces, the formerly enslaved peoples have greater possibilities for rejecting capitalism and for building their future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of immense historic importance.

Overcoming the resistance of external and internal reaction, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course of abolishing the dominance of imperialist monopolies, tribal chiefs, feudal lords and the reactionary bourgeoisie; of strengthening the public sector of the economy; of encouraging the cooperative movement in the countryside; and of enhancing the role of the mass of the working people in economic and political life. Defending their independence against the onslaught of the imperialists, these countries are broadening their cooperation with socialist states. The road chosen by them meets the genuine interests and aspirations of the mass of the people, reflects their desire for a just social system, and coincides with the mainstream of historical development.

The most acute problem facing mankind is that of war and peace. Imperialism was responsible for two world wars that claimed tens of millions of lives. It is creating the threat of a third world war. Imperialism is using the achievements of man's genius for the development of weapons of awesome destructive power. The policy of the imperialist circles, which are prepared to sacrifice the future of whole nations, is increasing the danger that these weapons may actually be put to use. In the final count it threatens mankind with a global armed conflict in which there would be no winners or losers and in which world civilization could perish.

The question of what goals the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution should serve has become pivotal in the present-day socio-political struggle. Contemporary science and technology make it possible to ensure abundance on earth and to create material conditions for the flourishing of society and the development of the individual. These creations of the human mind and human hands, however, are being turned against humanity itself owing to class selfishness, for the sake of the enrichment of the elite, which dominates the capitalist world. This is a glaring contradiction which confronts mankind as it approaches the threshold of the 21st century.

It is not science and technology in themselves that pose a threat to peace. This threat is posed by imperialism and its policy, the policy of the most reactionary

militarist, aggressive forces of our time. The threat can be averted only by curbing those forces.

In the present-day world, which is riddled with acute contradictions, and in the face of impending catastrophe, the only sensible and acceptable way out is **the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.** This does not merely mean the absence of wars. It is an international order under which good-neighbourliness and cooperation rather than armed force would prevail, and a broad exchange of the achievements of science and technology, and cultural values would be carried out for the good of all nations. When vast resources are no longer used for military purposes, it would be possible to use the fruits of labour exclusively for constructive purposes. States that have embarked on the road of independent development would be protected from external encroachments, and this would facilitate their advance along the path of national and social revival. Favourable opportunities would also arise for solving the global problems by the collective efforts of all states. Peaceful coexistence meets the interests of all countries and peoples.

The danger looming over mankind has never been so awesome. But then the possibilities for safeguarding and strengthening peace have never been so real. By uniting their efforts the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The aggressive policy of imperialism is being countered by the growing potential of the forces of peace. This means the vigorous and consistently peaceful policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defensive capacity. This means the policy of the overwhelming majority of states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have a vital interest in safeguarding peace and ending the arms race. This means the anti-war movements of the broadest mass of the people on all continents, movements that have become a long-lasting and influential factor in the life of society. A realistic assessment of the actual alignment of forces is leading many statesmen and politicians in capitalist states, too, to an understanding of the danger involved in continuing and extending the arms race.

The CPSU proceeds from the belief that, however grave the threat to peace posed by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism, **world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world.**

The entire course of world development confirms the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the character and main content of the present epoch. **It is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, and of historical competition between the two world socio-political systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions and of the disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states, and the mass democratic movements—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression, and for peace, democracy, and social progress.**

The constant growth of these forces and their interaction are a pledge that the hopes of the peoples for a life of peace, freedom, and happiness will be fulfilled. The advance of humanity towards socialism and communism, despite all its unevenness, complexity and contradictoriness, is inevitable.

PART TWO

THE CPSU'S TASKS IN PERFECTING SOCIALISM AND MAKING A GRADUAL TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM

I. The Communist Perspective of the U.S.S.R. and the Need to Accelerate Social and Economic Development

The ultimate goal of the CPSU is to build communism in our country. Socialism and communism are two consecutive phases of one communist formation. There is no distinct line dividing them: the development of socialism, an ever fuller revelation and use of its possibilities and advantages, and the consolidation of the general communist principles characteristic of it—this is what is meant by the actual advance of society to communism.

Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and with full social equality of all members of society. Under communism, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces on the basis of continuous progress in science and technology, all the springs of social wealth will flow abundantly, and the great principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"

will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people, a society in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labour for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a clearly recognized necessity, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.

The material and technical foundation of communism presupposes the creation of those productive forces that open up opportunities for the full satisfaction of the reasonable requirements of society and the individual. All production activities under communism will be based on the use of highly efficient technical facilities and technologies, and the harmonious interaction of man and nature will be ensured.

In the highest phase of communism the directly social character of labour and production will become firmly established. Through the complete elimination of the remnants of the old division of labour and the essential social differences associated with it, the process of forming a socially homogeneous society will be completed.

Communism signifies the transformation of the system of socialist self-government by the people, of socialist democracy into the highest form of organization of society—communist public self-government. With the maturing of the necessary socio-economic and ideological preconditions and the involvement of all citizens in administration, the socialist state—given appropriate international conditions—will, as Lenin noted, increasingly become a transitional form "from a state to a non-state." The activities of state bodies will become non-political in nature, and the need for the state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.

The inalienable feature of the communist mode of life is a high level of consciousness, social activity, discipline, and self-discipline of members of society, in which observance of the uniform, generally accepted rules of communist conduct will become an inner need and habit of every person.

Communism is a social system under which the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

The CPSU does not attempt to foresee in detail the features of complete communism. As society advances towards communism and more experience is accumulated in building it, scientific notions of the highest phase of a new society will become enriched and more concrete.

The growth of socialism into communism is determined by the objective laws of the development of society, laws which cannot be disregarded. Any attempts to move ahead too fast and to introduce communist principles without taking into consideration the level of material and spiritual maturity of society are, as experience has shown, doomed to failure and may cause both economic and political losses.

At the same time, the CPSU believes that there must be no delay in effecting the necessary transformations and solving new tasks. The Party takes into account the fact that along with undeniable successes, the 1970s and early 1980s saw certain unfavourable trends and difficulties in the country's development. To a great extent these were due to the failure to assess appropriately and in good time changes in the economic situation and the need for profound transformations in all spheres of life, and to a lack of persistence in carrying them out. This prevented fuller use of the possibilities and advantages of the socialist system and impeded onward movement.

The CPSU believes that under the present domestic and international conditions, the all-round progress of Soviet society, its onward movement towards communism can and must be ensured by **accelerating the country's socio-economic development.** This is the strategic line of the Party aimed at qualitatively transforming all aspects of life in Soviet society: a radical renewal of its material and technical foundation on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; perfection of social relations, above all economic ones; profound changes in the content and nature of labour and in the material and cultural conditions of the life of people; and invigoration of the entire system of political, social and ideological institutions.

The Party links the successful solution of the tasks set with an **increase in the role of the human factor.** Socialist society cannot function effectively without finding new ways of developing the creative activity of the people in all spheres of life. The greater the scope of the historical goals, the more important the interested, responsible, conscious and active participation of millions of people in achieving them.

Soviet society is to reach new heights on the basis of accelerating its social and economic development. This means:

in the economic sphere—raising the national economy to a basically new scientific-technological and organizational-economic level, gearing it towards intensive development; achieving the world's highest level in productivity of social labour, quality of output, and efficiency of production; ensuring an optimal structure and balance for the integral national economic complex of the country; significantly raising the level of the socialization of labour and production; drawing collective-farm and cooperative property and the property of the people as a whole closer together, with the prospect of their merging in future;

in the social sphere—ensuring a qualitatively new level of people's well-being while consistently implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to work; the establishment of an essentially classless structure of society, the gradual elimination of substantial differences in the socio-economic, cultural, and living standards of town and countryside; an ever more organic combination of physical and mental labour in production activities; further cohesion of the Soviet people as a social and international community; a high level of creative energy and initiative on the part of the masses;

in the political sphere—the development of socialist self-government by the people through ever greater involvement of citizens in running state and public affairs, the perfection of the electoral system, the improvement of the activities of elective bodies of people's power, the enhancement of the role of the trade unions, Komsomol, and other mass organizations of the working people, and an effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy;

in the sphere of cultural life—the further consolidation of socialist ideology in the minds of Soviet people; full establishment of the moral principles of socialism, of the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance; bringing the achievements of science and cultural values within the reach of the broadest masses of the population; moulding a harmoniously developed man.

These transformations will bring about a qualitatively new state of Soviet society, which will fully reveal the enormous advantages of socialism in all spheres of life. Thus a historic step will be made on the road to the highest phase of communism. The Party always correlates its policy, economic and social strategy, and the tasks of its organizational and ideological work with the communist perspective.

II. The Economic Strategy of the Party

The task set by the Party to accelerate the social and economic development of the country calls for profound changes primarily in the decisive sphere of human activity—the economy. A sharp turn is to be made towards the intensification of production; every enterprise and every sector is to be reoriented towards the utmost and top-priority use of qualitative factors of economic growth. A transition must be ensured to an economy of supreme organization and efficiency with comprehensively developed productive forces and production relations, and a smoothly functioning economic mechanism. The country's production potential should double and be renewed fundamentally and qualitatively by the year 2000.

These tasks are being tackled by the Party and the people under the conditions of the further development of the scientific and technological revolution, which is exerting strong influence on all aspects of present-day production, on the entire system of social relations, on man and his environment, and is opening up new prospects for considerably raising labour productivity and for the progress of society as a whole. The historical mission of socialism is to apply the achievements of science, the most advanced and efficient technology, and the growing force of people's creative and collective labour in the building of communism.

Acceleration of Scientific and Technological Progress—the Main Lever for Raising Efficiency in Production

The basic issue in the Party's economic strategy is the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. **A new technical reconstruction of the national economy is to be carried out** and the material and technical foundation of society thereby transformed.

Of primary importance is a rapid **renewal of the production apparatus through extensive introduction of advanced technology,** of the most advanced technological processes and flexible production lines that make it possible quickly to put out new products with maximum economic and social effect. It is necessary to complete comprehensive mechanization in all sectors of the production and non-production spheres and to take a major step to promote the automation of production, involving a transition to automated shops and enterprises and automated control and design systems. Electrification, chemicalization, robotization, and computerization of production will be effected and biotechnology used on an increasingly large scale.

The Party will facilitate in every way the further growth and effective use of the country's **scientific and technological potential** and the development of scientific research which opens up new opportunities for major, revolutionary changes in the intensification of the economy. The introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology in production, management, public services, and everyday life must be ensured everywhere. Science will become in full measure a force directly involved in production.

A considerable **increase in labour productivity** is to be achieved on the basis of accelerating scientific and technological progress, radical changes in machinery and technology, and mobilization of all technical, organizational, economic and social factors. Without this, as Lenin taught, "the full transition to communism is impossible." Labour productivity is to be increased by 130-150 per cent in the coming fifteen years as an important stage on the way to the highest productivity.

Reserves for growth in labour productivity must be used to the utmost at every association, every enterprise, and every workplace. It is necessary to reduce the labour intensity of products, to cut the waste of working time, to introduce up-to-date machinery and technology, strengthen order and discipline, improve norm-setting, broadly apply advanced forms of scientific organization of labour, raise production standards, make work collectives more stable, and encourage the efforts of inventors and innovators.

Scientific and technological progress should be aimed at a radical improvement in the **utilization of natural resources, raw and other materials, fuel and energy** at all stages—from extracting and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the output and use of end products. The rates of reduction of material intensity, metal intensity and power intensity per unit of national income must be increased. Saving of resources will become the decisive means of meeting the increase in the requirements of the national economy in fuel, energy, and raw and other materials.

Utmost **improvement in the technical level and quality of products** is at the centre of the Party's economic policy and all practical work. Soviet products should incorporate the latest achievements of scientific thought, meet the highest technical, economic, aesthetic and other consumer demands, and be competitive on the world market. Improving product quality is a reliable way of more fully meeting the country's requirements in commodities and the population's growing demand for a variety of goods. Poor quality and rejects mean wasted material resources and labour. The Party will actively support efforts to maintain the reputation of the Soviet trade mark. The quality of products should be a matter of professional and patriotic pride.

The effectiveness of scientific and technological progress depends not only on an increase in the output of the latest technical facilities, but also on the **better use of fixed assets,** and an increase in the output of products per unit of equipment, per square metre of production space. The present downward trend in output-assets ratio is to be overcome, and in the long run this ratio is to be increased.

Accelerated scientific and technological progress is making greater demands on the general and vocational education of working people. The course of improving the entire system of training personnel and raising its skills, of ensuring, on a planned basis, a balance between the number of workplaces and manpower resources in all economic sectors and regions of the country will be pursued.

The drive for all-round intensification and rationalization of production, for its highest efficiency on the basis of scientific and technological progress is being organically combined, under the socialist system of planned economy, with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, with full employment and the steady improvement of all aspects of life.

The switchover to intensification calls for serious **structural changes in the economy.** The national economy should be able to change flexibly and promptly in line with advances in science and technology, in social and individual requirements. There must be faster development of sectors essential for scientific and technological progress and for the successful solution of social tasks, an optimal correlation between consumption and accumulation, and a better balance between the manufacture of the means of production and consumer goods, between sectors in the agro-industrial complex. The social orientation of the economy will be strengthened and a turn will be made consistently to assure a more complete satisfaction of the Soviet people's growing requirements.

In this connection new demands are being made on **investment policy.** It is being called upon to ensure a higher effectiveness of capital investments, their concentration in the key sectors that are essential for the prompt achievement of the highest economic effect and a balanced development of the economy, and the highest increment in output and national income per ruble spent. Emphasis must be shifted from new construction projects to technical re-equipment and reconstruction of existing enterprises, with a considerable increase in the share of funds spent on these purposes in the overall volume of capital investments in production, and with greater spending on equipment and machinery. The top-priority task is to improve the correlation between capital investments in resource-extracting, processing and consuming sectors and to redistribute funds in favour of the sectors which ensure the acceleration of scientific and technological progress.

Making the Soviet economy the most highly-developed and powerful one in the world calls for further development of **heavy industry** as the basis of economic strength.

The Party assigns to **machine-building** the key role in applying the latest achievements of science and technology. Higher growth rates in machine-building are the basis for scientific and technological progress in all sectors of the national economy and for maintaining the country's defences at a proper level, and represent the main trend in the long-range development of the economy. Machine-building is called upon to manufacture systems and sets of machinery, equipment and instruments of the highest technical and economic standards so as to ensure revolutionary changes in the technology and organization of production, manifold increase in labour productivity, reduction in material intensity and power intensity, improvement in product quality, and higher returns on capital. Priority will be given to the development of machine-tool building, electrical engineering, the microelectronic industry, computer engineering and instrument-making, the entire branch of information science as the real catalysts for scientific and technological progress.

We must strengthen the potential of and effect a qualitative improvement in metallurgy, the chemical industry, and other sectors of heavy industry that produce **structural materials,** continuously broaden the range and improve the quality of materials, and increase the output of new, highly economical and advanced types.

The effective development of the **country's fuel-and-energy complex** is a most important task. Consistent satisfaction of the country's growing requirements for various types of fuel and energy requires improvement in the structure of the fuel-and-energy balance, accelerated development of the nuclear power industry, large-scale utilization of renewable sources of energy, and vigorous and purposeful work to save fuel and energy resources in all sectors of the national economy.

An indispensable condition for social and economic progress is the further strengthening and improved efficiency of the **agro-industrial complex,** and a full satisfaction of the country's requirements in its produce. The task is to complete the transfer of agriculture to an industrial basis, introduce everywhere scientific systems of farming and intensive technologies, improve the utilization of soil and raise its fertility, achieve a significant increase in the yield of agricultural crops and in livestock productivity, build up the fodder base, ensure stability in agricultural production, reduce its dependence on unfavourable natural and climatic conditions, and rule out losses in harvested farm crops and livestock produce. Agro-industrial integration and inter-farm cooperation will be consolidated; the machinery, technology and organization of production, procurement, transportation, storage and processing of agricultural produce will be raised to a new level.

Collective and state farms, and agro-industrial associations and enterprises that form the backbone of socialist agriculture are called upon to contribute decisively to satisfying the country's requirements in agricultural produce. At the same time subsidiary farms run by enterprises and individual plots of citizens, as well as collective gardening, will be used to replenish the food resources.

The CPSU will direct efforts towards accelerated growth in the production of **consumer goods and the entire sphere of services** to satisfy completely the needs of the Soviet people. Enterprises, associations and organizations in all sectors of the national economy should be involved in this.

In perfecting the integral national economic complex of the country the Party assigns an important role to technical retooling and the more efficient performance of sectors of the **production infrastructure**—the systems of electric power, oil and gas supply, communications and information back-up. Special attention will be paid to developing an integrated transport system, upgrading all its links, and developing a ramified network of well-appointed roads.

The task is essentially to raise technical and economic standards in **construction,** turn construction work into an integral industrial process, improve the quality and reduce the cost of design and construction work, and cut down the time taken to complete construction projects and to bring them up to design capacity.

The Party will continue to devote undivided attention to improving the **distribution of the productive forces,** an effort which should ensure the economy of social labour and the comprehensive and highly efficient development of each region. The economies of all Union republics will develop further through the greater social division of labour, and their contribution to the satisfaction of the requirements of the country will grow. The task is further to improve the structure of the existing territorial-production complexes and of economic ties, and to bring enterprises that process raw materials as close as possible to the places where those materials are extracted. It is necessary to use to a fuller extent the possibilities offered by small and medium-sized towns and workers' settlements, to locate within them specialized production facilities linked to the manufacture of products under co-production arrangements with major enterprises, to the processing of agricultural and local raw materials, and to the provision of services to the population.

Accelerated development of the productive forces in **Siberia and the Soviet Far East** remains a component part of the Party's economic strategy. In developing new regions it is of special economic and political importance strictly to ensure the comprehensive fulfilment of production tasks and the development of the entire social infrastructure so as to improve people's working and living conditions.

In charting economic development prospects, the CPSU proceeds from the need to improve **foreign economic strategy** and more fully to utilize the possibilities offered by the mutually advantageous international division of labour and, above all, the advantages of socialist economic integration. Foreign economic, scientific and technical contacts will be extended, and progressive structural changes will be introduced in the sphere of export and import in order to raise the efficiency of the national economy and guarantee independence from capitalist countries in strategically important areas.

Improvement of Socialist Production Relations, the System of Economic Management and Its Methods

Constant improvement of production relations, which should always correspond to the dynamically developing productive forces, and identification and resolution in good time of non-antagonistic contradictions arising between them are vital prerequisites for accelerating socio-economic progress.

Consolidation and enhancement of social ownership of the means of production, which is the foundation of the economic system of socialism, will remain at the centre of the Party's attention. The task is to increase the degree to which production is socialized, to raise the efficiency of its planned organization, and steadily to improve the forms and methods of utilizing the advantages and potentials of the property belonging to all the people.

An upsurge of productive forces in agriculture, the development of inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration will help bring about a further drawing together, and in the future a fusion, of collective-farm and cooperative property and the property of all the people. This will be a result of the all-round development and strengthening of both forms of socialist ownership, ever fuller utilization of the possibilities of the collective-farm and cooperative sector of the economy.

The Party will persevere in fostering in work collectives and in every worker a sense of co-ownership of social property, take the necessary measures to protect socialist property, prevent all attempts to use it for self-serving ends, eradicate methods of appropriation of material benefits that are alien to socialism, and ensure the constitutional right of citizens to personal property.

The Party attaches great significance to **improvement of relations in the sphere of distribution** which have a notable effect on enhancing collective and personal interest in the development of social production and on the standards and mode of life of the people. A policy will be consistently implemented of ensuring the most effective distribution of the social product and national income, and making sure that the mechanism of distribution serves as a reliable barrier to unearned incomes and to levelling in pay, a barrier to everything that contradicts the norms and principles of socialist society. It is necessary to have strict control over the measure of work and the measure of consumption, to increase the interest of collectives and of every worker in achieving better national economic results, and skilfully to combine moral and material incentives in work.

An urgent task is further to develop **relations in the sphere of economic exchange.** It is necessary to increase the stability of economic ties, ensure a dynamic correlation between demand and supply, improve the circulation of material and money resources and accelerate the turnover of circulating assets.

To raise production efficiency and improve distribution, exchange and consumption it is important to use commodity-money relations more fully, in conformity with the new content inherent in them under socialism. It is necessary to promote greater economy and control over the amount and quality of work by using monetary means, to employ the whole arsenal of economic levers and incentives, to consolidate the state budget and to increase the buying power of the ruble.

The acceleration of the social and economic development of the country demands continuous **improvement in the guidance of the national economy,** reliable and effective functioning of the economic mechanism comprising diverse and flexible forms and methods of management, and their correspondence to changing conditions of economic development and the character of the tasks being fulfilled.

Improvement of management should be based on a more efficient and comprehensive use of the advantages and possibilities of the socialist planned economic system and economic laws, and take full account of the changes in productive forces and production relations and of the growth of educational standards, consciousness, qualifications and experience of the broad mass of the working people. It should ensure an optimal combination of personal interests and the interests of work collectives and of different social groups with the interests of the entire state, the interests of all the people, and in this way use them as the motive force of economic growth.

The entire system of management should be directed towards augmenting the contribution of every element of the national economy to attaining the supreme goal —to satisfy to the fullest extent the requirements of society. The all-round increase of this contribution with a minimum expenditure of all resources is an immutable law of socialist economic management, and the basic criterion for evaluating the performance of various sectors, associations and enterprises, of all production units.

There must be a consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of management and, above all, of the principle of **democratic centralism** which reflects the unity of both of its basic elements—enhanced efficiency of centralized guidance and a considerable broadening of the economic autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises.

The attention of central management bodies should be concentrated to an increasing degree on fulfilling the strategic tasks of economic and social development, and on implementing in practice a uniform policy in the spheres of scientific and technological progress and capital investments, of structural changes in the national economy, the proportionality of social production, the strengthening of the system of planned state reserves, distribution of the productive forces,

payment for work, social security, prices, tariffs, finances, accounting and statistics.

The Party considers it necessary to raise the efficiency of **planning** as an instrument for carrying out its economic policy. Planning should be an active lever for accelerating the social and economic development of the country, for intensifying production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, implementing progressive economic decisions and ensuring balanced and dynamic economic growth. Qualitative indices reflecting the efficiency of utilization of resources, the scale of output of new products and the growth of labour productivity on the basis of the achievements of science and technology should occupy a central place in plans. It is vital to tackle economic and social tasks comprehensively, organically combine long-term, five-year and annual plans, raise the scientific standards of planning, enhance discipline in carrying out plans, ensure priority of the interests of the entire state, and decisively put a stop to all manifestations of departmentalism and parochialism, red tape and voluntarism. The finance-and-credit system must be substantially improved, and its role in raising production efficiency and strengthening the money turnover system and cost accounting must be enhanced.

Developing the principles of centralized management and planning, the Party, in the fulfilment of strategic tasks, will vigorously carry out **measures to enhance the role of the main production element**—associations and enterprises, and consistently follow a line towards broadening their rights and economic autonomy and increasing their responsibility and interest in achieving good final results. Day-to-day management work should be concentrated at the local level—in work collectives.

The Party considers it necessary to develop and improve further the effectiveness of **cost accounting** and consistently to switch enterprises and associations over to full-scale cost accounting, while enhancing economic leverage and reducing the number of indices set by higher organizations. The activity of associations and enterprises will be regulated to an ever fuller extent by long-term economic norms which give scope to initiative and creativity in work collectives. Measures to improve management from above should be combined with the development of collective forms of organization and stimulation of work at a grass-roots level. The system of levers and incentives should give real advantages to work collectives that are successful in accelerating scientific and technological progress, put out better products and increase the profitability of production. The opportunities and rights of associations and enterprises to use money earned to develop production, provide material incentives for the work force and resolve social questions will grow.

Wholesale trade will expand, the role of direct ties and economic contracts between the consumer-enterprises and manufacturers of products will grow, and so will the influence of the consumer on the technical standards and quality of products.

Price-formation must be improved to ensure that prices reflect more accurately the level of socially indispensable inputs and the quality of products and services, that they stimulate more actively scientific and technological progress, thrift in the use of resources, improvement of technical, economic and consumer qualities of products and introduction of all things new and advanced, and that they promote greater economy.

The CPSU sets the task of consistently improving the **organizational structure of the management** of the national economy at all levels, reducing the managerial apparatus and doing away with its excessive elements. It is necessary to improve the management of major national economic complexes and groups of interrelated and similar sectors; to achieve a rational combination of large, medium-sized and small enterprises, and of sectoral and territorial management; to extend the network and improve the performance of production and research-and-production associations; to deepen specialization; and to develop integration and cooperation in production.

The attention of inter-sectoral and sectoral management bodies will be concentrated on the most important trends in the development of various sectors and on the introduction of scientific and technological achievements. They should be responsible for meeting fully the requirements of the national economy and the population for products of the range and variety that have been decided on. The role and responsibility of republican and local bodies in managing economic, social and cultural development and in meeting the needs of the working people will grow, and the powers of these bodies will be broadened.

In its work to improve economic guidance the CPSU will consistently pursue a line towards **developing the working people's creative initiative and their increased involvement in the process of managing production,** a line towards enhancing the role of work collectives in drafting plans and making economic decisions, in implementing measures in the field of social and economic development at enterprises, and in finding and mobilizing the internal reserves of production. Thriftiness, the efficient use of public funds, rational use of every ruble, eradication of mismanagement, and elimination of various non-productive expenditures and losses—this is the cause of the entire Party, all the people, every work collective, every worker.

The development of **socialist emulation** is a subject to which the Party gives constant attention. It is one of the most important spheres for encouraging the creativity of working people, one of the chief means of self-expression and public recognition of the individual. Guided by the Leninist principles of openness and the possibility to compare results and to draw on advanced experience, we must improve the organization and enhance the efficiency of emulation, root out formalism and stereotypes, and develop the spirit of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. Of great significance is all-round support for the initiative and creativity of the people in accelerating scientific and technological progress, increasing labour productivity, ensuring the thrifty use of resources, improving production efficiency and output quality while reducing output costs, ensuring an efficient work rhythm with timely fulfilment of contractual obligations and achieving better national economic results.

III. The Social Policy of the Party

The Party regards social policy as a powerful means of accelerating the country's development, heightening the labour and socio-political activity of the masses, moulding the new man, and affirming the socialist way of life, and as a major factor of political stability in society. It proceeds from the belief that the influence of social policy on growing economic efficiency—on all aspects of public life—will intensify. The CPSU considers undiminishing concern for solving the social questions of labour, everyday needs and culture, for

meeting the interests and requirements of the people to be the supreme aim of the activity of all state and economic bodies and public organizations.

The Party defines the **principal tasks of social policy** as follows:

— a steady improvement of the living and working conditions of Soviet people;

— the implementation to an ever-fuller extent of the principle of social justice in all spheres of social relations;

— a drawing closer together of all classes and social groups and strata, overcoming essential distinctions between mental and physical work, between town and countryside;

— the perfection of relations between nations and ethnic groups; strengthening the fraternal friendship of the peoples and nationalities of the country.

Raising the Well-Being and Improving the Living and Working Conditions of Soviet People

The production and intellectual potential created in the Soviet Union, and the tasks of accelerating the country's social and economic development make it necessary and possible to achieve notable progress in attaining "**full** well-being and free, **all-round** development for **all** the members of society" (Lenin).

The CPSU sets the task of improving the well-being of Soviet people so as to give it a qualitatively new dimension, of ensuring that the level and structure of consumption of material, social and cultural benefits will correspond most fully to the aim of moulding a harmoniously developed, spiritually rich individual and creating the necessary conditions for the full application of the abilities and talents of Soviet people in the interests of society.

Already in the next fifteen years it is planned to double the volume of resources channelled into meeting the requirements of the people.

The Party attaches special importance to enhancing the creative content and collectivist character of work, improving its efficiency, and encouraging highly skilled and highly productive labour for the good of society. All this will help make work a prime vital necessity for every Soviet person.

The task ahead is to continue to carry out a series of scientific, technological, economic and social measures aimed at ensuring full and effective employment of the population, and granting to all able-bodied citizens the possibility to work in their chosen sphere of activity in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, education and training, with due account of the needs of society.

A consistent policy will be carried out to decrease considerably the amount of manual work, reduce substantially, and in the future eliminate altogether, monotonous, arduous physical and low-skilled work, ensure healthy, hygienic conditions and introduce better production safety norms in order to prevent industrial accidents and occupational diseases. Intensification and increased efficiency of production and labour productivity will open up in the future new possibilities for reducing working hours and extending the period of paid holidays.

The Party will continue to do everything necessary to raise steadily the real incomes of working people and further to improve the well-being of all strata and social groups in accordance with the country's economic possibilities.

Payment according to work done remains the principal source of working people's incomes during the first phase of communism. The system of wages and salaries must be improved constantly so that it fully corresponds to the principle of payment according to the amount and quality of work done, with due account of the conditions and results of work, stimulates the upgrading of workers' skills and labour productivity, and promotes better output quality and the rational use and saving of all types of resources. It is on this basis that the wages and salaries of working people should grow and their living standards improve. As social wealth grows, the size of minimum wages will increase and the policy of reducing personal income taxes will be carried on. The Party attaches fundamental significance to the resolute elimination of unearned incomes, the eradication of all deviations from the socialist principles of distribution.

Accelerated growth and improvement of the distribution of **social consumption funds** will continue. These funds are to play an increasing role in the development of the state system of free public education and free public health service and social security, in improving the conditions of rest and recreation for working people, in lessening the differences that are objectively inevitable under socialism in the material status of citizens, families and social groups, in evening out socio-economic and cultural conditions for the upbringing of children and in helping to improve radically the well-being of low-income groups of the population.

A task of foremost importance is **to meet completely the growing demand of the population for high-quality and diverse consumer goods**—foodstuffs, durable and beautiful clothing and footwear, furniture, commodities for cultural needs, and sophisticated household appliances and goods.

Domestic retail trade and public catering will be further developed. Their material and technical basis will be improved and the standards of service will be raised. Consumers' cooperatives, which are to improve trade in the countryside, organize the purchase of farm produce grown by the population and the marketing of agricultural products, will also be further developed. The collective-farm market will continue to play a significant role. A policy of retail prices will be pursued in the interests of increasing people's real incomes.

It is planned to carry out large-scale measures for the setting up of a **modern, highly developed service sector.** An increase in the volume of services, a broadening of their range and improvement of their quality will make it possible to meet more fully the growing demand of the population for various types of communal, transport, everyday, social and cultural services, to make housework easier, and to create better conditions for rest and a meaningful use of free time. The service industry will expand at an accelerated rate in the countryside and in the regions now being developed.

The Party considers as a matter of special social significance an accelerated solution of the **housing problem,** which will ensure that by the year 2000 practically every Soviet family will have their own

separate apartment or individual house. This end will be served by the large scale of state-funded housing construction, more extensive development of cooperative and individual house building, as well as reconstruction, renovation and better upkeep of the available housing and stricter control over its distribution. Special attention will be devoted to the quality of housing construction, to improving the standards of comfort, layouts and technical equipment of apartments and houses.

Higher demands will be made on the architecture, landscaping and planning of urban and rural settlements. Such population centres should be a well thought-out arrangement of production zones, residential districts, public, cultural, educational and child-care institutions, trade and service establishments, sports facilities, and public transport, ensuring the best conditions for work, everyday life and rest. The practice of encouraging people to contribute funds for the improvement of living conditions, cultural and recreation facilities, tourism and other activities will be broadened.

A matter of primary importance is **building up the health of Soviet people** and prolonging the period of their active life. The Party sets the task of satisfying completely the requirements of urban and rural residents everywhere for all types of medical services of a high standard, and of radically improving the quality of medical services. To this end it is planned: to introduce a universal system of medical check-ups for the population; to extend further the network of mother-and-child-care centres, clinics, hospitals and sanatoria and to equip them with modern medical facilities; and to ensure the necessary supply of medicines, medical equipment and sanitation and hygiene means.

Physical training and sports are a factor of everyday life. Their importance is growing in improving people's health, in the harmonious development of the individual and in preparing youth for work and the defence of their homeland. Efforts should be made to ensure that every person cares for his physical fitness from an early age, has a knowledge of hygiene and medical aid and has a healthy way of life.

The CPSU attaches great significance to **showing more care for the family.** The family plays an important role in building up the health of the younger generation and in its upbringing, in ensuring the economic and social progress of society and in improving demographic processes. It is in the family that one's basic character, one's attitude to work and to moral, ideological and cultural values take shape. Society is vitally interested in having families that are stable and spiritually and morally healthy. Proceeding from this, the Party considers it necessary to pursue a policy of strengthening the family and rendering assistance to it in the performance of its social functions and in the upbringing of children, a policy of improving the material, housing and living conditions of families with children and of newly married couples. There must be a more profound cooperation between the family, the school and the work collective; it is necessary to enhance the responsibility of parents for the upbringing of children, as well as the responsibility of children for the well-being of parents, for their secure old age.

A matter of continuing concern to the Party is a **further improvement of the status of mothers.** To this end favourable conditions will be created that will enable women to combine motherhood with active participation in work and public activities. Special attention will be devoted to mother-and-child care, and the period of pre-natal and child-care leave will be extended. The network of sanatoria, rest homes and boarding houses that accommodate families on holiday will be expanded. Diverse forms of employing women will be further developed. Sliding work schedules, a shorter working day, and work at home will be introduced on a wider scale in accordance with the wishes of women.

A broad range of measures will be implemented to create the necessary conditions for the upbringing of the younger generation. In the near future the demand of the population for child-care establishments will be met in full. The network of Young Pioneer and work-and-sports camps, Young Pioneer houses, and scientific and technical and creative arts centres and stations will be expanded. The norms of expenditures on catering in pre-school and vocational training establishments and in children's homes will grow.

The Party stresses the need to give considerably **more attention to the social problems of young people** and, above all, to develop and more fully satisfy those interests and requirements of young people that are socially significant, in the sphere of work and everyday life, education and culture, professional advancement and promotion, and rational use of free time.

The CPSU will continue to show constant **concern for improving the material status of labour and war veterans,** senior citizens, disabled persons, and the families of soldiers killed on duty, for providing social, medical and cultural services to them. The sizes of pensions and, above all, minimum pensions and those granted earlier will be periodically increased. The level of pensions provided to collective farmers will gradually approach that established for production and office workers. The network of homes for the aged and disabled will be further developed and the conditions of upkeep in such homes will be improved. Labour veterans with valuable experience will have more opportunities to work in accordance with their capabilities and to be involved in public life and educational work; this is a matter of major social and economic importance.

The harmonious interaction between society and nature, between man and the environment is acquiring ever growing significance in improving the life of the people. Socialist society, which consciously builds its future, uses natural resources in a planned and thrifty manner and is in the vanguard of mankind's struggle to preserve and augment the natural wealth of our planet. The Party considers it necessary to exercise greater control over nature management and to conduct ecological education on a wider scale.

Overcoming Class Differences and the Formation of a Socially Homogeneous Society

An important law of the development of social relations at the present stage is the **drawing closer together of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and the establishment of a classless structure of society with the working class playing the decisive role in that process.**

The political experience of the working class, its high level of consciousness, organization and will provide a rallying point for our society. The growth of the general educational and cultural standards and skills, and of the labour and socio-political activity of the working class enhances its vanguard role in

perfecting socialism, in building communism.

In the course of consistently implementing the Party's agrarian policy, agricultural work is turned into a variety of industrial work and the substantial social differences and differences in cultural and service standards between town and country are being eliminated. The way of life and the character of work of the peasants are becoming increasingly similar to those of the working class. Overcoming the differences between these classes and establishing a classless society in our country will take place mainly in the historical framework of the first, socialist phase of the communist formation.

Revolutionary transformations of the productive forces are leading to an increase in the share of brain work in the activities of the broad mass of workers and collective-farm peasants. At the same time, the numerical strength of the intelligentsia is growing and its creative contribution to material production and other spheres of public life is increasing. This promotes a gradual elimination of the substantial differences between physical and brain work and the drawing closer together of all social groups. The complete elimination of these differences and the formation of a socially homogeneous society will take place at the higher phase of communism. At the same time, as long as such differences exist, the Party considers it a matter of foremost importance to take careful account in its policies of the distinctive features characterizing the interests of the classes and social groups. Much attention will be given to evening out the working and living conditions of the population in different regions of the country.

The role of work collectives in the social structure of Soviet society **is growing.** The Party is helping in every way to bring about a situation in which every work collective will become an effective social cell of socialist self-government by the people and day-to-day genuine participation of working people in the solution of questions related to the work of enterprises, institutions and organizations, and of the development and application of the creative energies of the individual. It considers it necessary to enhance in a purposeful manner the influence of work collectives on all spheres of the life of society, to extend their rights and at the same time to increase their responsibility for carrying out specific tasks of economic, social and cultural development.

Further Flourishing and Drawing Closer Together of Socialist Nations and Nationalities

The CPSU takes full account in its activities of the multinational composition of Soviet society. The path that has been traversed provides convincing proof that **the nationalities question inherited from the past has been successfully solved in the Soviet Union.** Characteristic of the national relations in our country are both the continued flourishing of the nations and nationalities and the fact that they are steadily and voluntarily drawing closer together on the basis of equality and fraternal cooperation. Neither artificial prodding nor holding back of the objective trends of development is admissible here. In the long-term historical perspective this development will lead to complete unity of the nations.

The CPSU proceeds from the fact that in our socialist multinational state, in which more than one hundred nations and nationalities work and live together, there naturally arise **new tasks of improving national relations.** The Party has carried out, and will continue to carry out such tasks on the basis of the tested principles of the Leninist nationalities policy. It puts forward the following main tasks in this field:

— all-round strengthening and development of the integral, federal, multinational state. The CPSU will continue to struggle consistently against any manifestations of parochialism and national narrow-mindedness, while at the same time showing constant concern for further increasing the role of the republics, autonomous regions and autonomous areas in carrying out countrywide tasks and for promoting the active involvement of working people of all nationalities in the work of government and administrative bodies. Through creative application of the Leninist principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism, the forms of inter-nation relations will be enriched in the interests of the Soviet people as a whole and of each nation and nationality;

— a buildup of the material and intellectual potential of each republic within the framework of the integral national economic complex. Combining the initiative of the Union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous areas with central administration at the countrywide level will make possible the more rational use of the country's resources and of local natural and other features. It is necessary consistently to deepen the division of labour between the republics, even out the conditions of economic management, encourage active participation by the republics in the economic development of new regions, promote interrepublican exchanges of workers and specialists, and broaden and improve the training of qualified personnel from among citizens of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the republics;

— development of the Soviet people's integral culture, which is socialist in content, diverse in its national forms and internationalist in spirit, on the basis of the greatest achievements and original progressive traditions of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The advancement and drawing together of the national cultures and the consolidation of their interrelationships make mutual enrichment more fruitful and open up the broadest possibilities for the Soviet people to enjoy everything valuable that has been created by the talent of each of the peoples of our country.

The equal right of all citizens of the U.S.S.R. to use their native languages and the free development of these languages will be ensured in the future as well. At the same time learning, besides the language of one's nationality, the Russian language, which has been voluntarily accepted by the Soviet people as a medium of communication betweeen different nationalities, broadens one's access to the achievements of science and technology and of Soviet and world culture.

The Party proceeds from the belief that consistent implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy and a strengthening in every way of the friendship of the peoples are part of the effort to perfect socialism and a way that has been tested in social practice of ensuring the further flourishing of our multinational socialist homeland.

IV. Development of the Political System of Soviet Society

Established as a result of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat played the decisive role in creating the new society, and in the process it, too, underwent changes. With the abolition of the exploiter classes the function of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters gradually faded away and full scope was given to accomplishing its foremost, constructive tasks. Having fulfilled its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat has evolved into a political power of all working people, while the proletarian state has become a state of the whole people. It is the main tool for perfecting socialism in our country, while on the international scene it performs the functions of upholding the socialist gains, strengthening the positions of world socialism, countering the aggressive policy of imperialist forces and developing peaceful cooperation with all nations.

The CPSU believes that at the present stage the strategic line of development of the political system of Soviet society consists in advancing Soviet democracy and increasingly promoting socialist self-government by the people on the basis of active and effective participation of working people, their collectives and organizations in decision-making concerning the affairs of state and society.

The leading force in this process is the Party, the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society. It exercises guidance over the work of all other parts of this system—the Soviet state, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the cooperatives and other public organizations reflecting the common and specific interests of all sections of the population, of all the nations and nationalities of the country. Acting within the framework of the Constitution, the CPSU directs and coordinates the work of state and public organizations and sees to it that each of them fully carries out its functions. In all its activities the Party sets an example of serving the interests of the people and observing the principles of socialist democracy.

The Party makes sure that the principles of socialist self-government by the people are consistently applied in the administration of society and the state, that is, that the work of administration is not only carried out in the interests of working people but also becomes naturally, and to an ever greater extent, a direct concern of working people themselves, who, to use Lenin's words, know no authority except the authority of their own unity.

The Party will continue to work to ensure that the socio-economic, political and personal rights and freedoms of citizens are extended and enriched, and that ever more favourable conditions and guarantees are created for their full exercise. Soviet citizens have every possibility to express and exercise their civic will and interests and enjoy all the benefits of socialism. Soviet citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of their constitutional duties. It is an immutable political principle of socialist society that there are no rights without duties and no duties without rights. The CPSU will continue its persistent efforts to make sure that every Soviet citizen is educated in a spirit of clear awareness of the indivisibility of his rights, freedoms and duties.

It is a matter of key importance for the Party's policy to **develop and strengthen the Soviet socialist state** and increasingly reveal its democratic nature as a state of the whole people and its creative and constructive role.

The CPSU makes constant efforts to improve the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies—the political foundation of the U.S.S.R., the main element in socialist self-government by the people. The Party attaches great significance to perfecting the forms of the people's representation, to developing the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system and to ensuring free, comprehensive discussion of the candidates' personal and professional qualities so that the most worthy and respected representatives of the working class, collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia of all the nations and nationalities of the country are elected to the Soviets. In order to improve the work of the Soviets and infuse fresh blood into them, in order that more millions of people will go through the school of running the state, the composition of deputies to the Soviets will be systematically renewed at elections.

The CPSU makes a constant effort to facilitate the work of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics of consistently perfecting legislation, effectively resolving the key problems of home and foreign policy within their sphere of responsibilities, exercising vigorous guidance over the Soviets of People's Deputies and checking on the work done by the agencies under them. The role and responsibility of local Soviets in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of their respective regions, in implementing tasks of local significance and in coordinating and checking on the activities of organizations in their areas will continue to grow.

All conditions should be created for the strict fulfilment of Lenin's instructions that the Soviets should be bodies that not only make decisions but also organize and check on their implementation. Soviets at all levels should apply ever more fully democratic principles of work, including collective, free and constructive discussion and decision-making; publicity; criticism and self-criticism; the deputies' regular reporting back to the constituencies and their accountability to them to the extent of being recalled before the expiration of their term of office for having failed to justify the voters' confidence; control over the work done by executive and other bodies; and extensive involvement of citizens in the work of administration.

The Party will unswervingly conduct a policy of **democratizing administration, the process of working out and adopting decisions of state importance,** which ensures selection of optimal solutions and the consideration and comparison of different opinions and proposals put forward by the working people. The range of matters to be decided on only after discussion in work collectives, standing commissions of the Soviets, and trade union, YCL and other public organizations will broaden. The more important draft laws and decisions will be submitted for countrywide discussion and put to a popular vote. The task is to continue to improve the system of summing up and fulfilling mandates given by electors to their candidates in elections and other suggestions and proposals from citizens and of studying public opinion, and to enable the people to be better informed about the decisions taken and the results of their implementation.

Of particular importance is the broadening of the

rights and a heightening of the activity of work collectives in all matters of managing production, social and cultural development and in the political life of society. Steps will be taken to enhance the role of general meetings and councils of work collectives and the responsibility of the management for the fulfilment of their decisions, and to introduce the election of foremen, heads of sections and leaders of other production units.

It is a matter of great importance to improve the performance of the state apparatus and all other administrative bodies. The Soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It should be highly competent and efficient. It is necessary to work for a streamlining of the administrative machinery, a reduction of costs and elimination of redundant jobs, persistently to eradicate manifestations of red tape, formalism, departmentalism and parochialism and get rid of incompetent and inert officials without delay. Careless work, abuse of office, careerism, striving for personal enrichment, nepotism and favouritism should be relentlessly rooted out and punished.

The Party considers it necessary to abide strictly by the principle of accountability of the staff of state bodies and extend the system of filling vacancies through election or competition. It is necessary persistently to implement the principle of collective decision-making, with each executive remaining personally responsible for the work done; members of the staff should be judged objectively by their practical work and there should be effective control over the actual fulfilment of the decisions taken.

The CPSU will actively help to raise the efficiency of state and public control. It regards the participation of working people in **People's Control** bodies as an important way of increasing their political maturity and heightening their activity in protecting public interests, and of fostering a statesmanlike approach to matters and a thrifty attitude to public property.

It has been and remains a matter of unremitting concern to the Party to **strengthen the legal foundation of the life of the state and society,** ensure strict observance of socialist law and order, and improve the work of judicial bodies, the work of supervision by agencies of the Procurator's Office, and the work of justice and internal affairs bodies. Relying on the support of work collectives, public organizations and all working people, state bodies are obliged to do everything necessary to ensure the safety and good condition of socialist property, protect the personal property of citizens, their honour and dignity, wage an unrelenting struggle against crime, drunkenness and alcoholism, prevent offences of any kind and remove their sauses.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards defence of the socialist homeland, the strengthening of the country's defences and the ensuring of state security as one of the most important functions of the Soviet state.

From the standpoint of the country's internal conditions our society does not need an army. But as long as there exists the danger of imperialism starting aggressive wars and military conflicts, the Party will be paying unflagging attention to enhancing the defence capacity of the U.S.S.R., strengthening its security and ensuring the preparedness of its Armed Forces to rout any aggressor. The Armed Forces and the state security bodies should display high vigilance and be always ready to cut short imperialism's intrigues against the U.S.S.R. and its allies.

The leadership exercised by the Communist Party over the country's military development and the Armed Forces is the basis for strengthening the defences of the socialist homeland. It is under the Party's guidance that the country's policy in the field of defence and security and the Soviet military doctrine, which is purely defensive in nature and geared to ensuring protection against an outside attack, are worked out and implemented.

The CPSU will make every effort to ensure that the Soviet Armed Forces remain at a level that rules out strategic superiority of the forces of imperialism, that the Soviet state's defence capacity continues to be improved in every way and that military cooperation between the armies of the fraternal socialist countries is strengthened.

The Party will continue to make constant efforts to ensure that the combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces is a firm union of military skill, a high level of technical capability, ideological staunchness, organization and discipline of the officers and men and their loyalty to their patriotic and internationalist duty.

The CPSU considers it necessary in the future as well to increase its organizing and directing influence on the Armed Forces' activities, strengthen the principle of one-man leadership, broaden the role and influence of the political bodies and Party organizations of the Army and the Navy and make sure that the Armed Forces' vital links with the people will become still stronger. It is the duty of every Communist, every Soviet citizen to do everything possible to maintain the country's defence capacity at an adequate level. **Defence of the socialist homeland and military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces are an honourable and sacred duty of Soviet citizens.**

The Party attaches foremost importance to enhancing the role of public organizations, which are important component parts of the system of socialist self-government by the people.

The CPSU regards it as its task to promote the continued growth of the prestige and influence of the **trade unions,** which are the most broadly-based organizations of the working people, a school of administration, a school of economic management and a school of communism. The trade unions are to discharge their main functions consistently: to do everything possible to help increase public wealth, improve the working people's working and everyday-life conditions and recreation facilities, protect their rights and interests, be constantly involved in the communist education of the people and draw them into the management of production and affairs of society, and strengthen conscious labour discipline.

It is the task of trade union organizations to take an even more active part in promoting socialist self-government by the people and in solving the fundamental questions of the development of the state, economy and culture, interact more closely with the Soviets and other organizations of the working people, raise the standards of the socialist emulation movement and of the effort to disseminate advanced experience and promote its wider application, develop public forms of control over the observance of the principles of social justice and help work collectives exercise the powers vested in them.

The CPSU justly regards as its active helpmate and dependable reserve the **All-Union Leninist Young Communist League,** a public political organization whose membership of many millions represents the advanced section of Soviet youth. The Party will continue to increase the YCL's role in the education of the younger generation, in the improvement of the work of the Young Pioneer organization, and in the practical implementation of the tasks of speeding up the country's social and economic development. Exercising guidance over the YCL, the CPSU pays special attention to strengthening its ranks organizationally and politically

and enhancing the independent character of the youth league. The YCL should persistently promote the labour and public activity of young people, instill in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and high political and moral standards and help them become aware of their historical responsibility for the future of socialism and the world.

The Party helps to improve the work of the **cooperatives**—collective farms, consumer and home-building cooperatives and other cooperative organizations and associations, regarding them as an important form of socialist self-government and an effective means of developing the national economy.

The CPSU will facilitate a further heightening of the activity of the **unions of workers in the arts, of scientific, science and technology, cultural and educational, sport, defence and other voluntary societies and people's social activity bodies.** In fulfilling their functions, these organizations are to make an ever greater contribution to furthering the Party's policy and work for the all-round expression and satisfaction of the interests of the working people united in them, and for enhancing the Soviet people's civic initiative and sense of responsibility.

V. Ideological and Educational Work, Public Education, Science and Culture

The Party will do everything necessary for using in full measure the transforming force of Marxist-Leninist ideology to accelerate the country's social and economic development, and will conduct purposeful work for the ideological, political, labour and moral education of the Soviet people and for **moulding harmoniously developed, socially active individuals combining cultural wealth, moral purity and a perfect physique.**

The CPSU regards it as the main tasks of its ideological work to educate the working people in a spirit of high ideological integrity and dedication to communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian, socialist internationalism, and a conscientious attitude towards work and public property, to make cultural and intellectual treasures ever more readily available to the people and to eradicate the morals that contradict the socialist way of life.

The Party proceeds from the conviction that a person's education is inseparable from his practical involvement in constructive work for the benefit of the people, in public life and in solving the tasks of social, economic and cultural advancement. Detachment from reality and its problems dooms ideological and educational work to abstract instruction and empty rhetoric, leading it away from the pressing tasks of building communism. Ideological work should be characterized by close links with social practice, profound ideological and theoretical content and taking account fully and accurately of the realities of domestic and international life and of the growing intellectual requirements of the working people; it should be close to the people, truthful, well argumented and concrete.

Unity of word and deed—the most important principle of all Party and state activities—is also an indispensable requirement of political and educational work. Active participation in this work is a duty of all leading cadres, a duty of every Communist.

The Party puts forward the following tasks:

In the Field of Ideological and Educational Work

The shaping of a scientific world outlook. Socialism has given Soviet society's intellectual and cultural life a scientific world outlook based on Marxism-Leninism, which is an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views. The Party considers it its most important duty to continue creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory by studying and generalizing new phenomena in Soviet society, taking into account the experience of other countries of the socialist community and the world communist, working-class, national liberation and democratic movements and analyzing the progress in the natural, technical and social sciences.

The CPSU will work unremittingly so that all Soviet people can thoroughly study the Marxist-Leninist theory, raise their political awareness, consciously participate in the shaping of the Party's policy and actively implement it.

Labour education. In educational work the Party focuses its attention on instilling in all Soviet citizens deep respect and readiness for conscientious work for the common good, be it mental or physical work. Labour is the main source of society's material and cultural wealth, the principal criterion of a person's social status, his sacred duty and the cornerstone of his communist education. The Party will make continued efforts to increase the prestige of honest, efficient work, encourage labour initiative and innovation and strengthen the principles of the communist attitude towards work.

The affirmation of communist morality. In the gradual advance towards communism the creative potential of communist morality, the most humane, just and noble morality, based on devotion to the goals of the revolutionary struggle and the ideals of communism, manifests itself ever more fully. Our morality has assimilated both universal moral values and the norms of conduct and norms governing relations between people which have been established by the popular masses in the course of their centuries-old struggle against exploitation, for freedom and social equality, for happiness and peace.

The communist morality upheld by the CPSU is as follows:

— **a collectivist morality,** the fundamental principle of which is "One for all and all for one." This morality is incompatible with egoism and selfishness; it harmoniously blends the common, collective and personal interests of the people;

— **a humanistic morality,** which ennobles the working man, is filled with a deep respect for him and is intolerant of infringements upon his dignity. It asserts truly humane relations between people—relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, good will, honesty, simplicity and modesty in private and public life;

— **an active, vigorous morality,** which stimulates one

to ever new labour achievements and creative accomplishments, and encourages one to take a personal interest and be involved in the affairs of one's work collective and of the entire country, to be implacable in rejecting everything that contradicts the socialist way of life, and to be persistent in the struggle for the communist ideals.

Patriotic and internationalist education. The Party will continue to work tirelessly so that in every Soviet citizen feelings of love for the country of the October Revolution where he was born and grew up, and pride for the historic accomplishments of the world's first socialist state are combined with feelings of loyalty to proletarian, socialist internationalism, of class solidarity with the working people of the fraternal countries, with all who are fighting against imperialism and for social progress and peace.

The CPSU and the Soviet state want to see feelings of friendship and fraternity uniting all nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R., a high standard of relations between nationalities and intolerance of any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, national narrow-mindedness or egoism, as well as attitudes and traditions that hinder the communist renovation of life become part of every Soviet citizen.

An important task of the Party in its ideological and educational work continues to be that of providing military-patriotic education and ensuring that everyone is prepared to defend the socialist homeland, to give it all his energies and, if necessary, to sacrifice his life for it.

Legal education. The Party attaches great importance to instilling in people a high sense of civic responsibility, respect for Soviet laws and the rules of socialist conduct, irreconcilability to any violations of socialist legality, and a readiness to take an active part in the maintenance of law and order.

Atheistic education. The Party uses ideological means for the broad dissemination of a scientific materialist world outlook, and for overcoming religious prejudices, while at the same time respecting the feelings of believers. While calling for the strict observance of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, the Party condemns attempts to use religion to the detriment of society and the individual. A highly important aspect of atheistic education consists in heightening the people's labour and public activity, raising their educational level, and the broad dissemination of new Soviet traditions and customs.

The struggle against manifestations of alien ideology and morals and all negative phenomena, connected with the vestiges of the past in the minds and behaviour of people as well as with shortcomings in the practical work in various fields of public life, with delays in solving urgent problems, is an integral part of communist education. The Party attaches paramount importance to the steady and consistent eradication of violations of labour discipline, embezzlement and bribery, profiteering and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, private-owner psychology and money-grubbing, toadyism and servility. It is essential to make full use of both the power of public opinion and the force of law for combating these phenomena.

Struggle against bourgeois ideology. The acute struggle between the two world outlooks on the international scene reflects the opposition of the two world systems—socialism and capitalism. The CPSU regards it as its task to tell people the truth about real socialism, about the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, actively to advocate the Soviet way of life and vigorously to expose in a well-argumented manner the anti-popular, inhuman and exploitative nature of imperialism. It will instill in Soviet people a high level of political awareness, vigilance, and the ability to assess social phenomena and uphold the ideals and spiritual values of socialism from clear-cut class positions.

The mass information and propaganda media play a growing role in the life of society. The CPSU will make every effort to ensure that the media analyze trends and phenomena in domestic and international life as well as economic and social processes in depth, that they actively support everything new and advanced, and call attention to pressing issues of concern to the people and suggest ways of solving them. The press, television and radio networks should provide people with news coverage and commentary that are politically clear and purposeful, profound, prompt, informative, vivid and comprehensible. The Party will continue to render the press and all other mass media active assistance and support in their work.

Special attention will be devoted to developing television broadcasting, ensuring that radio and TV programmes are increasingly available to the population, making the broadcasts richer in content and more interesting and raising their ideological and artistical level.

It is essential to resolutely eliminate any manifestations of pompous verbosity and formalism in ideological, educational and propaganda work. All the forms and means of this work must help mobilize the people for fulfilling the tasks facing the country by ensuring broad publicity of the work of the Party and state bodies and public organizations, direct and frank discussions with people, and by shaping public opinion and promoting its influence on practical matters. The CPSU will take constant care of strengthening the material foundation of ideological work.

In the Field of Public Education

The Party consistently pursues a policy of educating and training conscientious, highly-educated people fitted for both physical and mental work, for energetically accomplishing their jobs in the national economy, in various fields of public and state life, in science and in culture. The genuinely popular system of education established in the U.S.S.R. has brought knowledge within the reach of all citizens and made it possible within a historically short span of time to eliminate widespread illiteracy and introduce universal secondary education.

The CPSU will continue improving the public education system, taking into account the need to accelerate social and economic development, the prospects of communist construction and the requirements of scientific and technological progress. The reform of the general education and vocational training school now being effected in the country is based on the creative development of Lenin's principles of a uniform polytechnical labour school; it is aimed at raising still higher the standards of instruction and education of the young, and making them better prepared for their future labour activity, and geared towards gradually introducing universal vocational training. Schools are called upon to instill in their pupils love for their homeland, collectivism and respect for the elderly, for their parents and teachers, to impart to the younger generation a keen sense of responsibility for the quality of their study and work and for their conduct, and also to encourage student self-administration. As the planned measures are carried out, the vocational training and general education forms of schooling will

continue to develop and draw closer together, with their eventual merging.

In keeping with the demands of scientific, technological and social progress, the system of secondary specialized and higher education will be further developed. It should respond readily and timely to the requirements of production, science and culture and meet the national economy's needs for specialists with high professional standards, ideological and political maturity and organizational and managerial skills. The Party attaches much significance to developing the system of advanced training which, combined with the system of correspondence and evening courses, will offer favourable opportunities for all working people to continue their education, steadily increase and refresh their knowledge and raise their general cultural and professional levels.

The Party will show unfailing concern for the teaching staff and for strengthening and extending the material foundation of the entire system of education.

In the Field of Science

Science is playing a growing role in developing the productive forces, perfecting social relations, creating fundamentally new kinds of equipment and technology, raising labour productivity, developing natural resources in the depths of the earth and the ocean, exploring outer space and protecting and improving the environment.

The Party's policy in the field of science is designed to create favourable conditions for dynamic progress in all areas of knowledge; concentrate personnel, and material and financial resources in the more promising areas of research called upon to accelerate the accomplishment of planned economic and social tasks and society's cultural advancement, and ensure a reliable defence capability of the country.

Dialectical materialistic methods have been and remain the chief, tried-and-tested basis for progress in the natural sciences and social studies. They should be creatively further developed and skilfully applied in research and in social practice.

Soviet science is called upon to take leading positions in the principal areas of scientific and technological progress and to provide effective and timely solutions to current and long-term production, social and economic problems. It is important to ensure priority development of fundamental, exploratory research and ensure prompt implementation of scientific ideas in the national economy and other fields of endeavour. The organizational and economic forms of the integration of science and production and of directing scientific and technological progress should be continuously updated; the scale of topical applied research and experimental design projects and their efficiency should be increased. It is essential to strengthen the interaction of scientific work collectives at research institutions, higher educational establishments and in production.

Social science workers should focus their attention on studying and thoroughly analyzing the experience of world development and the building of the new society in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, the dialectics of productive forces and relations of production and the material and cultural spheres under socialism, the general laws governing the formation of the communist system and the ways and means of ensuring gradual movement towards its highest stage. An urgent task facing social sciences at the present stage is to provide the scientific analysis of the objective contradictions in socialist society, work out sound recommendations on how to overcome them, and make reliable economic and social forecasts.

The processes under way in the communist, working-class and national liberation movements, as well as in capitalist society should be studied most thoroughly. The course of world development confronts mankind with quite a few questions of global importance. Science should furnish correct answers to these questions. Combating bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism has been and remains an important task of the social sciences.

The Party supports bold exploration, competition of ideas and trends in science, and fruitful discussion. Scholastic discourses and passive recording of facts which do not provide scope for daring conclusions of a general theoretical nature are alien to science, as are time-serving and loss of touch with reality. The complex and multifaceted problems of today call for a broader integration of the social, natural and technical sciences. Forms of organization of science that provide for an interdisciplinary study of pressing problems, necessary mobility of scientific personnel and a flexible structure of scientific centres as well as effectiveness of research and development must be introduced on a greater scale. It is vital to enhance their role in the elaboration and fulfilment of plans for economic and social development. An indispensable condition for scientific progress is a constant influx of fresh forces, in particular from the sphere of production, efficient use of the creative potentialities of scientists, and active support of their work according to their actual contribution to solving theoretical and applied problems.

In the Field of Cultural Development, Literature and Art

The development of the multinational and truly popular Soviet culture, which has won worldwide recognition, is a historic achievement of our system. The great influence exercised by Soviet culture is due to its faithfulness to the truth of life and to the ideals of socialism and communism, to its profound humanism and optimism, and its close links with the people.

The CPSU attaches much importance to a fuller and deeper assimilation by working people of the values of intellectual and material culture and to their active involvement in artistic creative work. Steadily applying the Leninist principles of cultural development, the Party will see to the aesthetic education of the working people, in particular of the young generations, based on the best works of national and world artistic culture. Implementation of aesthetic principles will provide an even greater inspiration to work, raise the stature of man and enrich his everyday life.

The sphere of culture is called upon to meet the growing requirements of various sections of the population, to provide adequate opportunity for amateur artistic activity, to develop talents, to enrich the socialist way of life, and to mould healthy requirements and fine aesthetic values. For the successful accomplishment of these tasks, the Party considers it absolutely essential to improve the contents and methods of cultural work, strengthen the material base of this work and carry out intensive cultural development programmes in the countryside and newly-developed regions.

The Party will promote in every way the role of literature and art, which are called upon to serve the

interests of the people and the cause of communism, to be a source of joy and inspiration for millions of people, to express their will, sentiments and thoughts, and actively contribute to their ideological development and moral education.

The main line of development of literature and art consists in strengthening ties with the life of the people, in a truthful and highly artistic representation of socialist reality, in an inspired and vivid portrayal of the new and advanced, and in an impassioned exposure of everything which hampers social progress.

The art of socialist realism is based on the principles of partisanship and kinship with the people. It combines bold innovation in truthful artistic representation of life with the use and development of all the progressive traditions of national and world culture. Workers in literature and art have broad scope for truly free creative endeavour, for the professional mastery and for further development of diverse forms, styles and genres of realism. As the cultural standards of the people rise, the influence of art on the life of society and on its moral and psychological climate is enhanced. This increases the cultural workers' responsibility for the ideological orientation of their creative effort and for the artistic impact of their work.

The CPSU takes a careful and respectful attitude to talent and artistic search. At the same time it has always fought and will continue to fight against the lack of ideological commitment, the lack of discrimination in matters relating to a world outlook, and artistic dullness, relying in this on the unions of creative workers, public opinion and Marxist-Leninist literary and art criticism.

Soviet culture facilitates mutual understanding and the drawing together of peoples and vigorously participates in the struggle against the forces of imperialism, reaction and war. Embodying the ideological values and diversity of the intellectual life of socialist society and its humanism, it contributes to world culture and manifests itself more and more forcefully as a powerful factor in the cultural progress of mankind and as a prototype of future communist culture.

PART THREE

THE TASKS OF THE CPSU ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, IN THE DRIVE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The international policy of the CPSU is based on the humane nature of socialist society, which is free from exploitation and oppression and has no classes or social groups interested in unleashing war. It is inseparably linked with the basic, strategic tasks of the Party within the country and expresses the common aspiration of the Soviet people to engage in constructive work and to live in peace with all nations.

The main goals and directions of the international policy of the CPSU are:

— provision of international conditions favourable to the perfection of socialist society in the U.S.S.R. and its advance to communism; removal of the threat of world war and achievement of universal security and disarmament;

— constant strengthening and expansion of cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the fraternal socialist countries and the utmost contribution to the consolidation and progress of the socialist world system;

— development of relations of equality and friendship with newly free countries;

— maintenance and development of relations between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist states on a basis of peaceful coexistence and businesslike, mutually beneficial cooperation;

— internationalist solidarity with Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, the international working-class movement and the national liberation struggle of the peoples.

The CPSU's approach to foreign-policy matters consists in firm protection of the interests of the Soviet people and resolute opposition to the aggressive policy of imperialism combined with a readiness for dialogue and constructive settlement of international problems through negotiations.

The foreign-policy course for peace elaborated by the Party and consistently pursued by the Soviet state in combination with the strengthening of the defence capability of the country has ensured for the Soviet people and for most of the world's population the longest period of peace in the 20th century. The CPSU will continue to do everything it can to secure peaceful conditions for the constructive work of the Soviet people, to improve international relations, and to stop the arms race that has engulfed the world, in order to avert the danger of nuclear war, which looms over all peoples.

There is no loftier or more responsible mission than that of safeguarding and strengthening peace and curbing the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of the life of present and future generations. **A world without wars and without weapons is the ideal of socialism.**

I. Cooperation with Socialist Countries

The CPSU attaches primary importance to the further development and strengthening of relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Party is seeking long-lasting comradely relations and many-sided cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and all the other states of the socialist world system. The CPSU proceeds from the belief that the cohesion of the countries of socialism meets the interests of each of them and their common interests, and promotes the cause of peace and the triumph of socialist ideals.

The all-round strengthening of relations of friendship and the development and perfection of ties between the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are a matter of special concern to the Party.

The ruling Communist and Workers' parties are the motive force of these countries' all-round cooperation.

To strengthen the cohesion of the Communists of the fraternal countries and to ensure mutual enrichment of the practice of guiding society, the CPSU will continue to help broaden the inter-Party links that embrace Party organizations at all levels, from Central Committees to primary Party organizations; it will promote exchanges of opinions and experience both on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The CPSU will continue its policy of strengthening interstate relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of affirming them in treaties and agreements, of developing contacts between the legislative bodies and between the public organizations of these countries, and of further stepping up their political cooperation in all forms.

Soviet Communists stand for the increasingly efficient interaction of the fraternal countries on the international scene with due regard for the situation and interests of each of them and for the common interests of the community.

As long as the imperialist NATO military bloc exists, the Party considers it necessary to help improve in every way possible the work of the Warsaw Treaty Organization as an instrument of collective defence against the aggressive ambitions of imperialism and of joint struggle for a lasting peace and broader international cooperation.

In economic relations, the CPSU stands for a further deepening of socialist economic integration as the material foundation for drawing the socialist countries closer together. It attaches special importance to a consistent uniting of efforts by the fraternal countries in key areas of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technological progress in order to accomplish jointly a task of historical significance, namely, that of advancing to the forefront of science and technology with the aim of further improving the well-being of their peoples and strengthening their security.

The Party proceeds from the belief that integration is designed to contribute to an ever increasing extent to progress in the sphere of social production and the socialist way of life in the countries of the socialist community, to evening out more rapidly their levels of economic development and to strengthening the positions of socialism in the world.

The CPSU will actively participate in the collective work of the fraternal parties to coordinate their economic policies, to improve the mechanism of their economic cooperation and evolve new forms of cooperation, to deepen specialization and cooperation in production, to coordinate plans, to exchange advanced experience and to develop direct links between associations and enterprises. It will help enhance the role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and broaden economic, scientific and technical cooperation on the basis of bilateral and multilateral programmes.

While considering equal and mutually beneficial economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states to be natural and useful, the CPSU at the same time believes that the development of socialist integration should enhance the technical and economic invulnerability of the community with regard to hostile actions by imperialism and to the influence of economic crises and other negative phenomena that are intrinsic to capitalism.

In the sphere of ideology, the CPSU stands for pooling the efforts of the fraternal parties aimed at studying and using the experience in building socialism and in the communist education of working people, at developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism while deepening its creative nature and upholding its revolutionary essence. An invigoration of collective thought, a constant widening of exchanges of cultural and intellectual values, and cooperation in science and culture serve further to strengthen friendship between socialist countries.

The Party will continue to enhance awareness of the unity and common historical destinies of the fraternal peoples. Propagation of the truth about socialism, exposure of imperialist policy and propaganda, rebuffing of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and struggle against dogmatic and revisionist views—these tasks are more easily accomplished when Communists act in a single front.

The CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty, together with the other fraternal parties, to consolidate the unity and increase the strength and influence of the socialist community. The outcome of the competition between socialism and capitalism and the future of world civilization depend largely on the strength of the community, on the success of each country in its constructive endeavours, and on the purposefulness and coordination of their actions.

The experience of the development of the world socialist system shows that socialism provides every opportunity both for the society's confident advance and for the maintenance of harmonious mutual relations between countries. But neither comes of its own accord.

The levels of countries' economic and political development, their historical and cultural traditions, and the actual conditions in which they exist are different. The social development of socialist countries does not always proceed in a straigthforward manner. Every major stage of this development sets new complex tasks, whose accomplishment involves struggle, search and the overcoming of contradictions and difficulties.

All this, the CPSU is convinced, calls for utmost attention, a constructive comparison of points of view and effective solidarity so as to rule out any possibility for the rise of differences that could harm common interests. Of special importance are the coordination of actions in matters of principle, comradely interest in each other's success, strict carrying out of commitments, and a profound understanding of both national interests and common, international interests in their organic interconnection.

The formation and development of a new society are taking place in a situation of sharp confrontation between the two world systems. Seeking to weaken the positions of socialism and disrupt the mutual ties of socialist states, and primarily ties with the Soviet Union, imperialism is employing a whole range of differentiated measures—political, economic and ideological. It tries to exploit problems that arise and makes use of nationalistic sentiments for subversive purposes. The CPSU proceeds from the belief that strong unity and class solidarity among socialist countries are especially important in these conditions.

The experience of the U.S.S.R., of world socialism shows that the most important factors in its successful advance are the loyalty of the ruling Communist and Workers' parties to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and creative application of that doctrine; firm links between the parties and the broad mass of working people, enhancing the authority of the parties and their guiding role in society, strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, and development of socialist government by the people; a sober consideration of the actual situation, timely and scientifically substantiated solution of problems that arise; and the building of relations with other fraternal countries on the principles of socialist internationalism.

Whatever the characteristic features of each of the

socialist countries, its level of economic development, size, and historical and national traditions, all of them have the same class interests. What unites the socialist countries and makes them cohesive is of paramount importance and is immeasurably greater than what may divide them.

The CPSU is convinced that the socialist countries, fully observing the principles of equality and mutual respect for one another's national interests, will continue to follow the road of ever greater mutual understanding and will draw closer together. The Party will contribute to this historically progressive process.

II. Strengthening Relations with Newly Free Countries

Formulating its policy towards former colonial and semicolonial countries, the CPSU proceeds from the belief that the embarking of the formerly enslaved peoples on the road of independence, the emergence of dozens of new states and their increasing role in world politics and in the world economy are one of the distinctive features of the present epoch.

The newly free peoples, as Lenin foresaw, are to play a great role in the destinies of mankind as a whole. **The CPSU believes that these peoples' increasing influence should promote to an ever greater extent the cause of peace and social progress.**

The Party is consistently pursuing a policy of expanding contacts between the Soviet Union and the newly free countries, and regards with profound sympathy the aspirations of the peoples who had experienced the heavy and humiliating yoke of colonial slavery. The Soviet Union is building its relations with those countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equality, and supports the struggle of those countries against the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, against the survivals of colonialism, and for peace and universal security.

The Party attaches great importance to solidarity and political and economic cooperation with **socialist-oriented countries.** Every people creates, mostly by its own efforts, the material and technical base necessary for the building of a new society, and seeks to improve the well-being and cultural standards of the masses. The Soviet Union has been doing and will continue to do all it can to render the peoples following that road assistance in economic and cultural development, in training national personnel, in strengthening their defences and in other fields.

The CPSU is developing closer relations with the **revolutionary-democratic parties** of newly free countries. Especially close cooperation has been established with those of them that seek to base their activities on scientific socialism. The CPSU stands for the development of contacts with all national progressive parties holding anti-imperialist and patriotic positions.

Relations between the Soviet Union and newly free countries have demonstrated that there also exists a realistic basis for cooperation with those young states that are following the capitalist road of development. This basis consists in a common interest in safeguarding peace, strengthening international security and ending the arms race; in a sharpening contradiction between the interests of the peoples and the imperialist policy of diktat and expansion; and in an understanding by young states of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union help to strengthen their independence.

However different the newly free countries may be from one another and whatever road they follow, their peoples share a common desire to develop independently, and to run their affairs without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is in full solidarity with them. The CPSU does not doubt that it is the sacred right of the newly free countries to decide their own destinies and to choose their own type of social system.

The CPSU supports the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of transnational monopolies, for the assertion of the sovereign right to be master of one's own resources, for a restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order, and for the deliverance from the burden of debt imposed by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union is on the side of the states and peoples repulsing the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and upholding their freedom, independence and national dignity. Solidarity with them in our time is also an important aspect of the general struggle for peace and international security. The Party regards it as its internationalist duty to support the struggle of the peoples who are still under the yoke of racism and who are victims of the system of apartheid.

The CPSU regards with understanding the goals and activities of the non-aligned movement and stands for an enhancement of its role in world politics. The U.S.S.R. will continue to be on the side of the non-aligned states in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for settling disputes and conflicts that arise through negotiations, and will be opposed to the involvement of those states in military and political groupings.

The CPSU stands for the equal participation of newly free countries in international affairs and for an increase of their contribution to the solution of the most important problems of our time. The interaction of those countries with socialist states is vastly important for strengthening the independence of the peoples, improving international relations and preserving peace.

The alliance of the forces of social progress and national liberation is a guarantee of a better future for mankind.

III. Relations with Capitalist Countries. The Struggle for a Lasting Peace and Disarmament

The CPSU proceeds from the belief that the historical dispute between the two opposing social systems into which the world is divided today can and must be settled by peaceful means. Socialism proves its superiority not by force of arms, but by force of example in every area of the life of society—by the dynamic development of the economy, science and culture, by an improvement in the living standards

of working people, and by a deepening of socialist democracy.

Soviet Communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Every people deserves to live in a society that is free from social and national oppression, in a society of genuine equality and genuine democracy. It is the sovereign right of an oppressed and exploited people to free itself from exploitation and injustice. Revolutions are a natural outcome of social development, of class struggle in every given country. The CPSU believed and continues to believe that the "export" of revolution, the imposition of revolution on anyone from the outside, is unacceptable in principle. But the "export" of counterrevolution in any form, too, is a gross encroachment on the free expression of will by the peoples, on their right independently to choose their way of development. The Soviet Union is strongly opposed to attempts forcibly to check and reverse the march of history.

The interests of the peoples demand that interstate relations be directed onto a path of peaceful competition and equal cooperation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union firmly and consistently upholds the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The policy of peaceful coexistence as understood by the CPSU presupposes: renunciation of war and the use or threat of force as a means of settling disputed issues, and the settlement of such issues through negotiations; non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the legitimate interests of each other; the right of the peoples independently to decide their destinies; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit; fulfilment in good faith of commitments arising from generally recognized principles and norms of international law and from international treaties concluded.

These are the basic principles on which the Soviet Union builds its relations with capitalist states. They have been affirmed in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The CPSU will purposefully help to bring about a universal affirmation in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a generally recognized norm of interstate relations that should be observed by everyone. It believes that the extension of ideological differences between the two systems to the sphere of interstate relations is inadmissible.

The Party will work for the development of the process of international détente, regarding it as a natural and essential stage on the road to the establishment of a comprehensive and reliable security system. The experience of cooperation shows that there is a real prospect for this. The CPSU stands for the creation and use of international mechanisms and institutions that would make it possible to find optimal correlations between national, state interests and the common interests of mankind. It stands for enhancing the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace and developing international cooperation.

The nuclear powers bear a special responsibility for the situation in the world. The states possessing nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction must renounce the use of or threat to use such weapons and refrain from steps that would lead to an aggravation of the international situation.

The CPSU stands for normal and stable relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, which presuppose non-interference in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, recognition and practical implementation of the principle of equality and equal security, and the building of the greatest possible mutual trust on this basis. Differences between social systems and ideologies should not lead to strained relations. There are objective prerequisites for the development of fruitful and mutually beneficial Soviet-U.S. cooperation in various fields. It is the conviction of the CPSU that the policies of both powers should be oriented to mutual understanding rather than hostility which is fraught with the threat of catastrophic consequences for the Soviet and American people as well as for other nations.

The Party is convinced that all states, big and small, regardless of their potentials, geographic location, and social systems, can and must participate in the search for solutions to acute problems, in the normalization of conflict situations, and in carrying out measures to ease tensions and curb the arms race.

The CPSU attaches great importance to the further development of peaceful, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between European states. An indispensable condition for the stability of positive processes in this region, as in other regions, is respect for the territorial and political realities which emerged as a result of the second world war. The CPSU is strongly opposed to attempts to revise them under any pretext whatsoever and will combat any manifestation of revanchism.

The Party will make consistent efforts to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust and peaceful cooperation in Europe, which was launched on the initiative and with the active participation of the Soviet Union, develops and deepens, and **comes to embrace the whole world.** The CPSU stands for the pooling of efforts by all interested states for the purpose of ensuring security in Asia and for carrying out a joint search by them for a constructive solution to the problem. Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Pacific and the Indian oceans can and must become zones of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The CPSU stands for the development of extensive long-term and stable contacts between states in the sphere of the economy, science, and technology on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit. Foreign economic cooperation is of great political importance, for it helps to strengthen peace and relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The Soviet Union rejects all forms of discrimination and the use of trade, economic, scientific and technical contacts as a means of exerting pressure, and will work to ensure the economic security of states.

The CPSU stands for broad mutual exchanges of genuine cultural values between all countries. Such exchanges should serve humanitarian goals, namely, the cultural and intellectual enrichment of the peoples and the consolidation of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The Soviet state will cooperate with other countries in solving the global problems that have become especially acute in the second half of the 20th century and that are of vital significance to the whole of mankind. These include: environmental protection, energy, raw materials, food and demographic problems, peaceful exploration of outer space and the resources of the World Ocean, the overcoming of the economic backwardness of many newly free countries, the eradication of dangerous diseases, and other problems. The solution of these problems calls for joint efforts by all states. It will be much easier to solve these problems if the squandering of efforts and resources on the arms race is stopped.

In the interests of mankind and for the benefit of all nations, **the CPSU and the Soviet state stand for an extensive and constructive programme of measures aimed at ending the arms race, achieving disarmament, and ensuring peace and security.**

The CPSU, which considers **general and complete disarmament** under strict and comprehensive international control to be a historic task and is carrying out efforts to achieve it, shall consistently be working for:

— **restriction and narrowing of the sphere of military preparations,** especially those involving weapons of mass destruction. First and foremost, outer space should be totally excluded from that sphere so that it will not become the scene of military rivalry and a source of death and destruction. Exploration and development of outer space should be for peaceful purposes only, for the development of science and production, in accordance with the needs of all nations. The U.S.S.R. stands for collective efforts in the solution of this problem and will actively participate in international cooperation to this end. The Soviet Union will also call for the adoption of measures promoting the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the establishment of zones free from these and other weapons of mass destruction;

— **the complete elimination of nuclear armaments** to be carried out stage by stage till the end of the 20th century by means of discontinuing the testing and production of all types of these armaments, renouncing the first use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear powers, and freezing, reducing and destroying all their stockpiles;

— **an end to the production of other types of weapons of mass destruction,** including chemical weapons, **their elimination,** and a ban on the development of new types of such weapons;

— **reductions in the armed forces of states,** first and foremost those which are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and countries that have military agreements with them; limitations on conventional armaments; an end to the development of new types of these armaments whose yield approximates that of mass destruction weapons, and reductions in military spending;

— **a freeze on, and reductions in, the number of troops and armaments in the most explosive parts of the world,** the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory, and measures to build up mutual trust and lessen the risk of armed conflicts, including those that might occur by accident.

The CPSU stands for overcoming the division of the world into military-political groupings. The CPSU is for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, or, as a first step, the disbandment of their military organizations. To lower confrontation between the military blocs, the Soviet Union advocates the conclusion of a treaty between them on the mutual non-use of force and the maintenance of relations of peace, a treaty which would be open to all other states as well.

The Party will make every effort to ensure that questions of arms limitation and averting the threat of war are tackled through honest and strictly observed agreements on the basis of equality and equal security of the sides, in order to preclude any attempt to conduct talks from a "position of strength" and use them to cover up an arms buildup.

The Soviet state and its allies do not seek military superiority, but at the same time they will not permit an upset in the military-strategic equilibrium that has taken shape in the world arena. Furthermore, they are consistently working to ensure that the level of this equilibrium is steadily lowered, the quantity of armaments on both sides reduced, and the security of all peoples guaranteed.

The CPSU solemnly declares: there are no weapons that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis with effective verification.

The U.S.S.R. does not encroach on the security of any country, West or East. It threatens no one and does not seek confrontation with any state; it wishes to live in peace with all countries. The Soviet socialist state has been bearing high the banner of peace and friendship among peoples since the Great October Revolution. The CPSU shall remain loyal to this Leninist banner.

IV. The CPSU in the International Working-Class and Communist Movement

The CPSU is a component part of the international communist movement. It regards its efforts to perfect socialist society and advance onward to communism as a major internationalist task, the accomplishment of which serves the interests of the socialist world system, the international working class, and mankind as a whole.

Communists, having always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are today also in the forefront of the struggle for the preservation of peace on earth and for people's right to life. They know well wherein lie the causes of the threat of war, expose those who are responsible for the aggravation of international tension and the arms race, and strive to develop cooperation with all those capable of making a contribution to the anti-war effort.

The CPSU takes into consideration the fact that Communist and Workers' parties in the non-socialist world are functioning in a complex and controversial situation. The range of the circumstances and forms of their struggle is quite broad. However, this expands rather than limits the opportunities available to the movement. The diversity of forms of activity practised by Communists enables them to take better account of specific national conditions and concrete historical circumstances, and of the interests of different social groups and strata of the population.

The CPSU proceeds from the conviction that the Communists in each country independently analyze and evaluate situations and determine their strategic course, policies and means of struggle for the immediate and ultimate goals, for communist ideals. The experience accumulated by the Communist parties is a valuable internationalist asset.

The CPSU thoroughly studies the problems and experience of foreign Communist parties. It regards with understanding their desire to improve their strategy and tactics, to seek broader class alliances on a platform of anti-monopolistic, anti-war activity, and to uphold the economic interests and political rights of working people, proceeding from the conviction that the struggle for democracy is a component part of the struggle for socialism.

The imperialist circles in different countries are closely coordinating their efforts aimed against socialism and all the democratic forces and are trying to set Communist parties against one another. In these conditions proletarian internationalism and comradely solidarity among Communists are assuming ever greater importance.

The CPSU believes that disagreement over individual issues should not interfere with international cooperation among Communist parties and their concerted efforts.

In cases when divergences of views on individual problems arise between fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it useful to hold comradely discussions to achieve better understanding of each other's views and reach mutually acceptable appraisals. But when the issue at hand is the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, the substance and role of real socialism, the CPSU will continue to uphold positions of principle. This also determines the CPSU's attitude to all attempts to destroy the class essence of the Communists' activity and distort the revolutionary nature of their aims and the means of struggle for attaining them. Experience has shown that any departure from the fundamental propositions of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin weakens the potentials of the communist movement.

In its relations with the fraternal parties, **the CPSU firmly adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism,** which organically combines revolutionary solidarity with the recognition of the full independence and equality of each party. On the basis of this principle, the CPSU is actively developing its ties with the Communist and Workers' parties, exchanging information, and participating in bilateral and multilateral meetings and regional and broader international conferences held as the need arises.

Soviet Communists always side with their class comrades in the capitalist world. The CPSU will use its international prestige to defend Communists who fall victim to the arbitrary rule of reactionaries. It has a high regard for the solidarity of the fraternal parties and for their struggle against anti-Sovietism. The mutual support of the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist and non-socialist countries is an important factor for social progress.

The CPSU will continue its policy of developing ties with socialist, social-democratic, and labour parties. Cooperation with them can play a significant role, first and foremost, in the effort to prevent nuclear war. However great the divergences between various trends of the working-class movement might be, they present no obstacle to a fruitful and systematic exchange of views, parallel or joint actions to remove the threat of war, improve the international situation, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, and uphold the interests and rights of the working people.

The Party attaches great significance to stimulating cooperation among all contingents of the international working-class movement and expanding interaction between trade unions of diverse trends and youth, women's, peasant and other democratic organizations in various countries.

Being fully aware of its historical responsibility to the world's working class and its communist vanguard, the CPSU will continue:

— to uphold the revolutionary ideals and the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in the world communist movement, creatively develop the theory of scientific socialism, consistently fight against dogmatism and revisionism, against all the influences of bourgeois ideology on the working-class movement;

— to do its utmost to promote cohesion and cooperation among fraternal parties and the international solidarity of Communists and to increase the communist movement's contribution to the cause of preventing world war;

— to pursue a consistent policy aimed at achieving unity of action in the international working-class movement, among all working people in the struggle for their common interests, for a lasting peace and the security of peoples, for national independence, democracy, and socialism.

PART FOUR

THE CPSU—THE LEADING FORCE IN SOVIET SOCIETY

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a path that is unprecedented in its depth and force of impact on social development. Its ascent has been swift: from the first Marxist circles through three people's revolutions to the leadership of a great socialist power.

The historic achievements of the Soviet people in building a new society, their victory in the Great Patriotic War, the country's confident advance towards ever higher stages of socio-economic and cultural progress, and the growth of the Soviet Union's influence on the course of world development are inseparably linked with the Communist Party's activities. It is the inspirer and organizer of the historical creative activity of the people, our society's leading and guiding force. Equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party is determining the general prospects for the country's development, ensuring a science-based leadership of the creative activities of the people, and lending an organized, plan-based, and purposeful character to the building of communism.

As a result of the fact that socialism has been built in the U.S.S.R., that all sections of the working people have gone over to the positions of the working class, and that the socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society has been consolidated, the Communist Party, while retaining its class essence and ideology as the party of the working class, has become the party of all the people. This predetermines the revolutionary continuity, the class character of domestic and foreign policy, and the entire activity of the CPSU.

In the new historical conditions, when the country is confronted with important tasks in its internal development and in the international arena, the **Party's leading role** in the life of Soviet society **inevitably grows,** and higher demands are made on the level of its political, organizational and ideological activity. This is predetermined by the following essential factors:

— growth in the scale and complexity of the tasks of perfecting socialism and accelerating the country's socio-economic development; the need to elaborate and implement consistently a policy that ensures the successful fulfilment of these tasks and an organic interconnection between the economic, social, and cultural progress of society;

— development of the political system, strengthening democracy and socialist self-government by the people by enhancing the political and labour enthusiasm of the masses, extensively drawing them into administering production and state and public affairs;

— the need for further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, for a profound comprehension of the experience of building communism, for a search for science-based and timely answers to the questions posed by life, for raising the social consciousness of the working people, and for the elimination of the manifestations of petty-bourgeois mentality and ethics and all deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life;

— interest in deepening all-round cooperation, strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement, solidarity with the forces of national liberation, and the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, reformism, and sectarianism;

— complication of external political conditions in connection with the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, the need to be more vigilant, to assure the country's security and to make new, increasingly persistent efforts to curb the forces of aggression, stop the arms race, rid mankind of the threat of nuclear catastrophe and strengthen peace on earth.

In carrying out the political leadership of society, the CPSU will continue consistently **to apply the time-tested Leninist principles, assert the Leninist style** in Party work, in all fields of administration of the state and the economy, enhance the science-based nature of its policy; the Party will rely extensively on the collective wisdom and experience of the people and will develop their social initiative. It attaches fundamental significance to the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic activity, to the ucompromising struggle against any stagnation and conservatism, to the creative quest for effective solutions to problems that arise.

The CPSU considers it necessary to take careful account of the specific character of the functions of Party, state and public bodies, to coordinate their work, to prevent duplication of activities, to enhance the role of the Party Committees as bodies of political leadership, to eliminate manifestations of formalism and red tape, bureaucratic and other distortions in the work of the administrative apparatus, to intensify control over the fulfilment of Party decisions and economic plans, to strengthen state and labour discipline and order, and to raise organizational standards.

In the activity of all Party organizations and work collectives, the CPSU will persistently instil a creative attitude, efficiency, high responsibility and adherence to principle, as well as an ability to evaluate the results attained objectively and self-critically, to be attentive and sensitive towards people, their needs and requirements.

The Party inseparably links the higher standards in the guidance of state, economic, and cultural development with further **improvement in working with personnel.** It considers it vital that the Leninist principles of selecting and evaluating personnel on the basis of political, business, and moral qualities be strictly observed everywhere, from top to bottom, and that public opinion be given greater consideration.

By its entire personnel policy the CPSU will facilitate the promotion to leadership positions of Communists and non-Party people who are politically mature, possess high moral standards, are competent and full of initiative; the Party will be more active in advancing women to positions of leadership. The Party attaches fundamental importance to such qualities in a leader as responsiveness to new ideas, closeness to the people, readiness to undertake responsibility, a desire to learn to work better, an ability to understand the political meaning of economic management, and high demands on one's self and on others.

The Party sees to it that alongside the seasoned older generation there should work in all sectors young, promising people, gaining experience and the necessary training. This is a natural process which provides a reliable guarantee against inertia, stagnation, and voluntarism.

Confidence in personnel must be combined with exactingness, with their greater personal responsibility to Party organizations and work collectives for the results of work and maintenance of Party and state discipline, and with stricter control by the people over the activity of managers. Each manager should be fully accountable for the work entrusted to him. He should establish proper relations with people and inspire them by personal example. **No Party organization, no one should remain outside the sphere of control.**

The development of the Party is characterized by a **further growth and strengthening of Party ranks, and an improvement in inner-Party relations on the principle of democratic centralism.**

Filling its ranks with the foremost representatives of the working class, collective-farm peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia, the Party increases its influence in various fields of building communism. The CPSU considers it essential that industrial workers hold a leading place in its social composition. A person's political and business qualities, honesty and decency, readiness to devote all his or her energies to the cause of communism remain the decisive condition for admission to the Party. Attempts to join the Party in order to make a career should be stopped immediately.

Party membership gives no privileges; it implies only a greater responsibility for all that takes place within the country, for the destiny of building communism and social progress. Every Communist must be exemplary in work and behaviour, in public and personal life. The strength of the Party's links with the masses, its prestige among them depends in large measure on how fully the **vanguard role of the Communists** manifests itself. The Party will steadily raise its demands on each Communist concerning his or her attitude to duty and the honest and pure moral make-up of the Party member; it will appraise each member by his or her work and deeds.

The CPSU believes that a guarantee of the successful activity and of high creative enthusiasm of the Communists lies in further **developing and deepening inner-Party democracy,** in strictly observing the Leninist norms of Party life, in promoting criticism and self-criticism, in ensuring greater openness and publicity.

The Party will continue to base its work on the tested **principle of collectivity.** To ensure its further implementation and development, the CPSU considers it essential to enhance the role and significance of Party meetings, plenary meetings, conferences and congresses, and of Party committees and bureaus as collective bodies of leadership, and to provide favourable conditions for a free and businesslike discussion in the Party of questions relating to its policy and practical activity.

While working for the consistent practical implementation of the democratic principles of inner-Party life, the CPSU simultaneously devotes unremitting attention to **strengthening Party discipline.** Firm, conscious discipline on the part of Party members is a necessary prerequisite for high socialist discipline in all spheres of public life.

Successful work of the Party and the growth of activity

of the Communists are inseparably linked with a further improvement in the work of the Party's primary organizations. Since they are the political nucleus of work collectives, they are called upon to contribute in every way possible to bringing about the unity of the Party's policy and the vital creative activity of the people.

The Party will always strengthen the unity and monolithic cohesion of its ranks. It preserves in its arsenal of means the organizational guarantees envisaged in the CPSU Rules against any manifestation of factionalism and cliquishness. **The most important source of the Party's strength and invincibility is the indestructible ideological and organizational cohesion of the Party.**

The CPSU proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the people are the makers of history, and that the building of communism is the work of their hands, energy, and minds. The vital creative activity of the people is the guarantee of all our achievements.

The Party exists for the people and sees the meaning of its activity in service to the people. The goals and tasks it sets itself are an expression of the aspirations and vital interests of the Soviet people. The Party will continue to work in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, constantly broadening and deepening its links with them and showing understanding for people's needs and concerns. It regards as its duty constantly to consult working people on key issues of domestic and foreign policy, carefully take into account public opinion, and draw non-Party people on an ever broader scale into the work of Party organizations. The more actively the Party is supported by the people, the more it influences the course of social development.

In all of its activity the CPSU is invariably guided by the **time-tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.** It will contribute in every way possible to promoting the cohesion of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, develop fraternal ties with all the Communist and Workers' parties, actively cooperate with them in the struggle for peace and against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, and support their struggle in defence of the vital interests of the working people, for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

* * *

This is the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Party calls upon all the Communists, all working people—workers, collective farmers, and members of the intelligentsia—to take a most vigorous part in the implementation of the historical tasks set forth in the Programme. The Party is confident that Soviet people, regarding the Programme of the CPSU as their vital cause, will make every effort to implement it.

To achieve a qualitatively new state of society by substantially accelerating socio-economic progress—this is the Party strategy. The all-round perfection of socialism will bring new benefits to every family, to every Soviet citizen. It will lead to a further flourishing of our socialist homeland and, finally, to the triumph of communism.

The onward march of our people to this cherished goal will increase the attractive force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of transforming society on the principles of humanism and social justice. They win the minds and hearts of people by providing an example of better social organization, a steady growth of productive forces, by ensuring conditions for creative work, for people's happiness and well-being, resolutely rejecting wars of aggression, and affirming the principles of peace and broad cooperation between peoples on the basis of equality and universal security.

Communists, all the working people of our country, are looking optimistically to the future. The Party is firmly convinced that by the selfless labour effort of the Soviet people, a creator and builder, the tasks set will be accomplished and the goals outlined achieved.

Under the leadership of the Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the Soviet people have built socialism.

Under the leadership of the Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the Soviet people will build a communist society.

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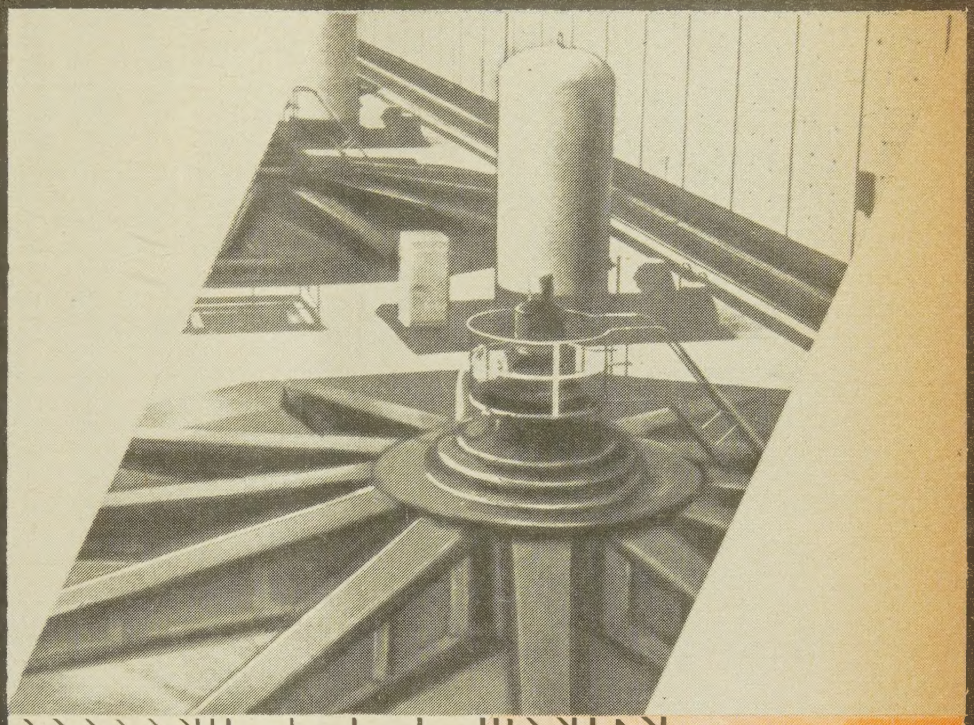

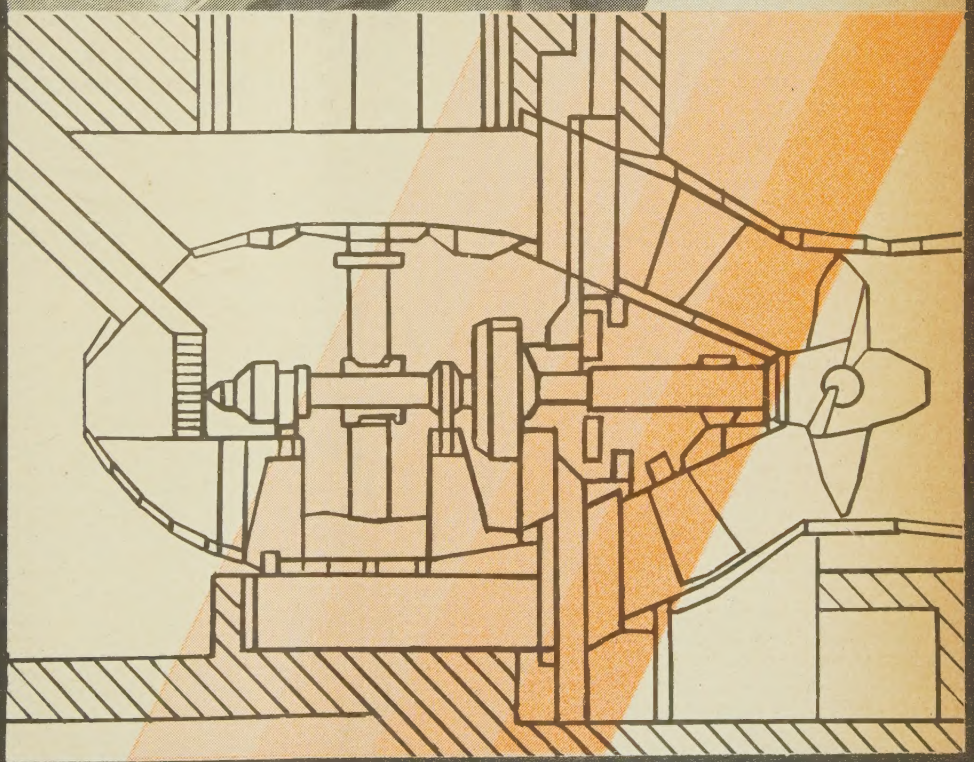

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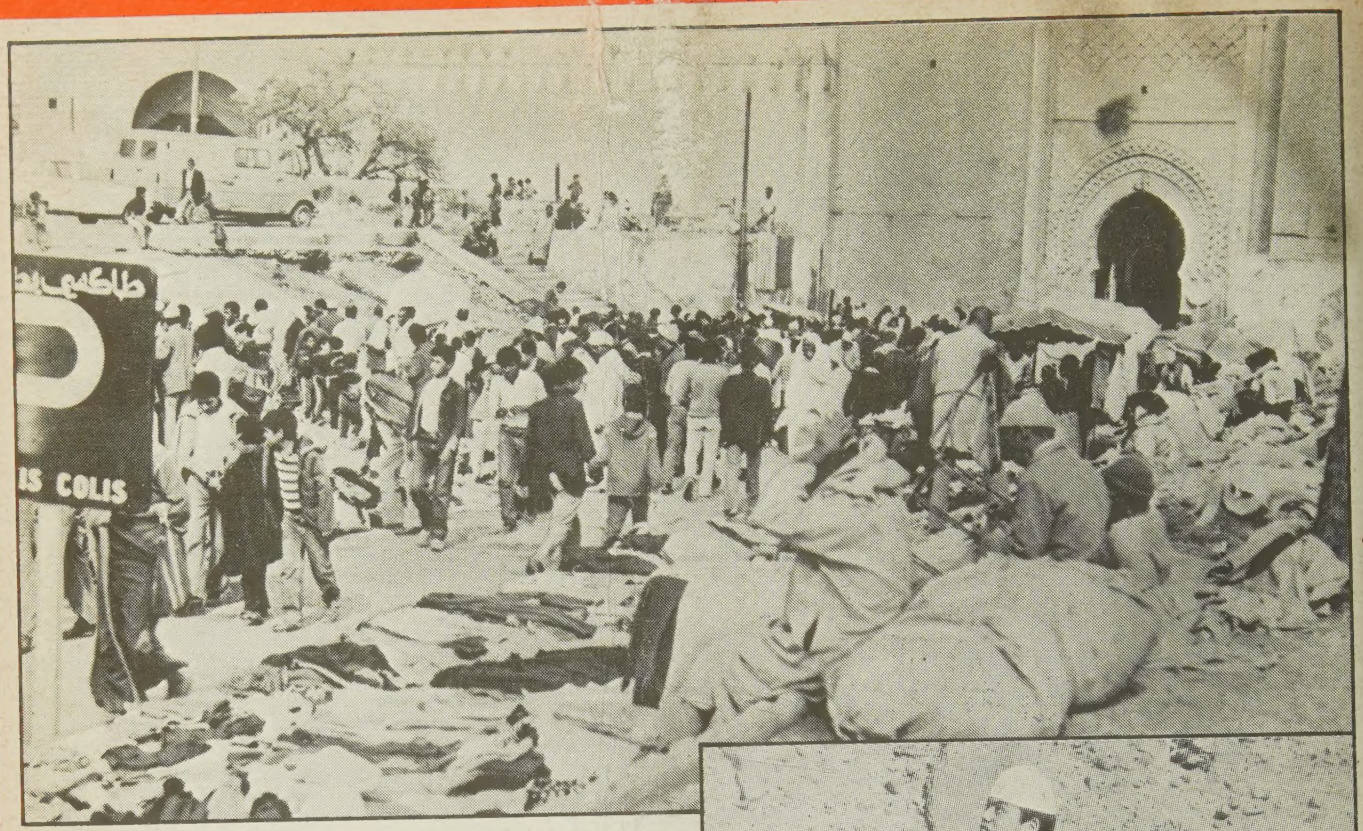


A little snake charmer.

FEZ, A WONDER CITY

Not everyone is perhaps aware that the tasselled hat in the shape of a truncated cone derives its name from the Moroccan city of Fez. But it is not worn here, local people preferring a soft camel hair cap. They also prefer to European dress the ankle-length robe known as the djellaba. If Rabat is Morocco's political centre and Casablanca its economic heart, Fez is the country's custodian of tradition.

Founded in the 8th century, the city was the Moroccan capital several times in the past. It plays a signal role today too, when Morocco is marking the thirtieth anniversary of its independence. Important international forums are frequently held here, and in January this year it was the venue of the 16th meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference which sternly condemned Washington's intrigues against Libya.

The heart of Fez is the old town known, as in other Arab countries, as the Medina. A newcomer is liable to lose his way in its labyrinth of narrow, winding streets. Here in the old town are the luxurious 14th-century Sultan's palace Dar el-Makhzen, a great many mosques (there are 700 of them in Fez) and the famed Al Qarawiyin University, which is considered the focus of religious life in the Maghreb. The vaulted ceiling of its huge hall is supported by 320 columns and all its 14 doors are closed to "infidels."

At the main gates of the Medina (top photo).

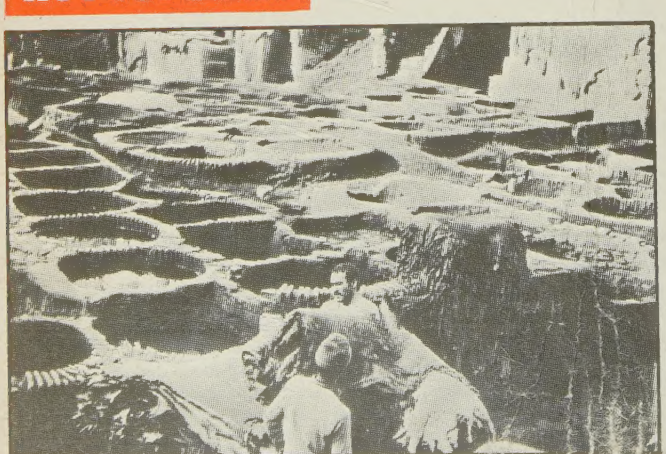
But it is not only its architectural wonders that impress the visitor to the Medina. The most striking feature of Fez is the loving care with which its people cherish their traditions, the folklore, and the exquisite art of its artisans inherited from ancient craftsmen. Under their skilled hands, palm trees and minarets appear before your eyes chased on brass plates. While you wait, soft slippers with pointed toes are cut from camel hides that have been soaked in huge vats and then dried. Here, too, straw mats and baskets are woven, and the potter's wheel revolves with incredible speed.

The air is filled with the hubbub of the crowd, the shouts of camel drivers, the strident voices of professional barkers and the shrill cries of the marabouts. Mingling with this cacophony are the doleful notes of a flute played by a barefoot snake charmer. The hot breath of the braziers, the smell of sweat and tanned hides blend with the spicy aroma of oriental sweets. A crowd is gathered around a group of dancers in national costume who, to the accompaniment of tambourines, work themselves and the onlookers to a state of frenzy. This is Fez, the custodian of tradition.

S. CHUGROV

Photos by author

THE WORLD IN PICTURES



Camel hides are tanned here.